

JUBBULPORE SCHOOL OF INDUSTRY,
ESTABLISHED IN 1837.

Tents of the undermentioned sizes, manufactured of the very best materials, and the cut and general finish equal to the best on the Bengal Establishment, will be made up from this date at the following prices :

Double poled Regulation Tents, of 4 folds of cloth throughout, with 4 feet verandah all round, and complete with carpets, bamboo painted screens, purdahs and gunny bags, ropes and necessary tents, 28 feet by 16 feet	Rs 580	Hill Tent, with 4 folds of cloth in each top, &c. and 5 in the walls, complete in every respect, no necessary tent, 15 feet square, 180
Ditto ditto ditto, 26 by 16 feet,	.. 550	Ditto ditto ditto, 12 feet square, 180
Ditto ditto ditto, 24 by 14 feet,	.. 500	Sywans for the above, 6 feet deep, each .. 12
Ditto ditto ditto, 28 by 14 feet,	.. 480	Hill Tent, 18 feet sq. with 2 sywans, .. 170
Single-poled Regulation Tents, of 4 folds of cloth throughout, and having a 4 feet verandah all round, and complete with ditto ropes, and necessary tents, 16 feet square,	.. 390	Bebchobha Tent, 5 cloths in the fly, and 4 in the walls, measuring 12 feet square, with surtongees, .. 125
Ditto ditto ditto, 15 feet square,	.. 385	Ditto ditto ditto, 10 feet square, .. 105
Ditto ditto ditto, 14 feet square,	.. 340	Ditto ditto ditto, 9 feet square, .. 95
Ditto ditto ditto, 13 feet square,	.. 380	Ditto ditto ditto, 8 feet square, .. 85
Rowtows of 5 cloths to the fly, and 4 to the kunauts, complete with purdahs, carpets, bamboo painted screens and ropes, no necessary tent, 16 feet by 14 feet,	.. 170	Sleeping Pals, four folds of cloth, including chanks, with lacquered poles, and surtongees, and 4 ft kunauts, 12 ft sq. 100
Ditto ditto ditto, 16 feet by 12 feet,	.. 160	Ditto ditto ditto, 10 feet square, .. 90
Ditto ditto ditto, 14 feet by 12 feet,	.. 150	Division Kunauts, complete, each .. 94
Ditto ditto ditto, 13 feet by 12 feet,	.. 140	Boots, 3 feet for increasing the inside of the tent, by taking off the verandah, each 20
Hill Tent, with four folds of cloth in each top, and 5 in the walls, complete in every respect, no necessary tent, 14 feet square, 200		Ditto, 2 ditto, each .. 16
		Ditto, 2 ditto, each .. 14
		Necessary tents of the usual sizes, .. 23
		Zenangh Kunauts, per running yard, .. 2-8
		Baggage Tent, 12 feet square, .. 60
		Shamecanah, Stable, and every other description of Tent made to order
		Tent Thermantidores which can be carried by one coolie .. 25

All orders must be accompanied by a remittance of $\frac{1}{3}$ of the amount in advance, the remainder to be paid on delivery, the expense and risk of transit to be borne by purchaser.

Every Tent will be marked with the words "Jubbulpore School of Industry."

BY ORDER OF

MAJOR JAMES SLEEMAN,

Genl. Supt for the Suppn. of Thuggee & Dacoites.

chool of Industry, }
ty, 1857. }

J B WILLIAMS, Overseer.

Inconvenience is found in obtaining Drafts on the Deputy Commissioner, Jubbulpore, the undermentioned gentlemen have kindly consented to ad grant receipts for the Institution, but all orders must be forwarded Overseer, advising him at the same time of the $\frac{1}{3}$ of the amount being remitted to one of the undermentioned gentlemen.

MESSRS. RIMINGTON AND CO., Agents, Bombay.

MESSRS. BINNY AND CO., Do. Madras.

MESSRS. ALLAN, DEFFELL AND CO., Do. Calcutta.

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The accumulations of PREMIUM received by the INDIAN BRANCH amounted, on the 30th June 1856, to Co.'s Rs. 8,44,720, of which Co.'s Rs. 1,37,000 was invested on Mortgage of House Property in Calcutta, and the remainder in COMPANY'S PAPER AND BANK OF BENGAL SHARES IN THE NAMES OF THE DIRECTORS.

LIFE ASSURANCE BRANCH.

The extensive Assurance Business of the Agra and United Service Bank has been transferred to this Office, and the Society has Branch Establishments or Agencies at Calcutta, Madras, Bombay and Agra.

The London Directors of the Family Endowment Society, being desirous of carrying out the pledge they gave when they commenced the Indian Branch of their business, to reduce the premium of Insurance to the lowest rates consistent with perfect safety, have on the report of their Actuary that the premium charged on short term policies was too high in proportion to that on whole Life Policies, made a further reduction in the rates for short terms, and the following extract from the Tables will show that now, AS WHEN THE BRANCH WAS ESTABLISHED, THE RATES OF PREMIUM ARE LOWER THAN THOSE OF ANY OTHER OFFICE IN INDIA.

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FAMILY ENDOWMENT, &c.—Continued.

A Fee of Ten Rupees is payable by this Office in every case to the Medical Examiner filling up the Certificate of an Applicant.

A return of 20 per cent. of the yearly premium FROM REALIZED PROFITS has been declared and is now payable to all policy-holders on the profit scale who have paid five years premium.

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For Assuring 1,000 Rupees on a Civil Life.

Age next birth day.	One year	Three years	Five years	Seven years.	Life with participation.	Life without participation.
20	21	21	22	23	33	31
30	25	26	29	28	38	35
40	29	29	30	31	49	45
50	36	38	39	41	63	59
60	49	50	54	57	82	77

For Assuring 1,900 Rupees on a Military or Naval Life.

Age next birth day.	One year	Three years	Five years	Seven years.	Life with participation	Life without participation.
25	28	28	28	30	40	38
35	32	33	34	35	48	45
45	39	40	42	43	59	55
55	48	49	51	52	74	69

Intermediate ages in proportion.

Policies on a single life granted from One to Thirty Thousand Rupees.

All applications for Assurance must be accompanied with a medical fee of eight Rs.

The advantages of this Society are as follows :

Lower rates of premium than any other Office in India.

The rates of premium calculated on the best and most recent investigations of mortality in India.

Annual participation in the profits after payment of premium for five years, by parties assured on the profit scale.

Intermediate reduction of premium to the English rates in the case of a party assured in either scale for life, or for a short period, proceeding to Europe for a permanency, and reduction after one year in the case of a party visiting Europe for a short period.

The civil rate only charged on the lives of parties in the Military Service, holding Civil offices, as long as they continue in such office.

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Assignments of Policies registered at the Office of the Secretaries.

Tables of rates and full information may be had at the Offices of the Secretaries in Calcutta, or of Messrs. Binny and Co., Madras, or of Messrs. R. Strong and Co., Bombay, or at any of the Agencies of the Agra and U. S. Bank.

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The deferred Annuity branch of the Society, which has been lately extended to India, offers all the advantages of a Pension or Retiring Fund, as by the payment of very small monthly subscriptions, an Annuity, of £100 to £300 is secured at the expiry of the usual periods of service—the Annuity increased also by a proportionate share of profits.

Immediate Annuities granted on most favorable terms.

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ESTABLISHED IN 1849.

Calcutta Office, No. 6, Esplanade Row,

Nearly opposite the East gate of Government House, and between Messrs. R. Scott Thomson and Co.'s Medical Hall and Mountain's Hotel.

This Company undertakes to convey (by dawk) Passengers in carriages, either drawn by horses, or propelled by bearers.

The CONVEYANCES have been chiefly built by Messrs. Eastman, Dykes, Stewart, Seton, &c.

BEARER-DAWKS arranged at one day's notice. No demurrage charged.

The terminus of the Company is at Raneegunge; but parties are requested to apply for dawks at the Calcutta Agency Office.

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		<i>Unballa</i>	<i>G. F. GREENWAY.</i>

Lists of Horse and Bearer Stages, together with any information required, may be obtained at all the Agencies.

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TABLE OF RATES.

FROM RANEEGUNGE	To	HORSE DAWK.			BEARER DAWK.	
		One inside seat.	Two inside seats.		By Company's carriage with 9 men.	By Company's carriage with 10 men.
			Two inside and one outside seats.	One outside seat.		
Shuhurghatty, (1 and 2) ...	41	62	72	62	74	
Bonares	74	112	130	111	128	
Mirzapore	85	126	145	127	146	
Allahabad	88	133	154	139	160	
Futtchipore	102	155	180	168	192	
Cawnpore	112	169	197	186	212	
Lucknow	120	182	212	205	227	
Futtehgurh	127	192	223	218	248	
Mynpoorie	132	199	231	227	258	
Agra	145	219	254	253	287	
Allyguâ	146	220	256	255	289	
Bulundshahur	153	231	269	270	305	
Meerut	161	243	283	286	323	
Delln	161	243	283	286	323	
Moozaffurnuggur, via						
Meerut	173	261	307	300	334	
Kurnaul	175	265	309	314	349	
Umballa	187	287	339	331	368	
To						
Kalka, (Simla)	202	317	379	346	398	413
Loodiana	217	317	419	361	428	453
Phillour	219	351	424	363	432	464
Jullundur	229	371	453	373	452	494
Umritsur	247	407	504	391	488	548
Ferozepore	247	407	504	391	488	548
Lahore	257	427	534	401	508	578
Lahore, via Ferozopore	267	447	559	411	528	608
Sealkote	272	457	569	416	538	623
Sealkote, via Ferozopore	287	487	604	431	568	668
Wuzceeralad	287	487	604	431	568	668
Wuzceeralad, via Ferozepore	297	507	634	441	588	698
Hoshyarpore, via Roopur	233	379	463	377	460	506
Hoshyarpore, via Jullundur	241	395	482	385	476	530
Saharupore, via Moozaffurnuggur, (3)	189	293	351	316	366	382
Rajpore, (Mussoorie) via Moozaffurnuggur, (3) ...	213	341	417	340	414	454

By horses to Umballa, thence by
Palkee or Doolay,
which will be provided for Passengers
at the actual cost.

NOTE.

1.—The charge for a bearer-dawk, of twelve men for either carriage or palanquin, is forty Rupees, from Shuhurgatty to Patna or Dinapore; and sixteen Rupees from Shuhurgatty to Gyah. When the Road between Shuhurgatty and Dinapore is practicable for carriages, each Carriage (which can accommodate two inside and one outside passengers) will be charged at the above rates.

2.—Dawks are supplied to Shuhurgatty, Gyah, Patna, and Dinapore, *on certain conditions*.

3.—Dawks to Saharunpore and Rajpore (Landour and Mussoorie), are *horsed* to Moozaffurnuggur, thence by Palkee or Dooley, which will be provided for Passengers at the actual cost.

For further particulars apply to the Calcutta Agent, or to

W. GREENWAY, *Manager.*

IMPORTANT NOTICE.

We have told our Friends and the Public for the past TWO YEARS that our former extensive Premises did not afford sufficient convenience for our steadily increasing business; nor accommodation as an Hotel, to meet the wants of travellers; consequently, that we had been obliged to engage several outside houses and premises which we had found it difficult to control with comfort to our Patrons or satisfaction to ourselves. With the view, therefore, of over-coming these objections and concentrating our multifarious branches of business under *one roof*, we purchased the adjoining extensive Premises; pulled down all the buildings comprised in them to the ground; and were adapting *the whole* to the requirements of the times, by the erection of a large and handsome edifice.

This has now been accomplished *with much inconvenience to ourselves, an enormous expenditure of money, and an unusual amount of patience:* and we are now in possession of *the finest pile of buildings in India.* As the Public will doubtless wish to have some idea of the present extent of these premises, we will simply mention that they occupy *the entire space between Waterloo and Raneemuddy Streets; with a width of*

One Hundred and Forty-two feet in Waterloo Street,

Two Hundred and Eighty-two feet in Raneemuddy Street;

AND A LENGTH OF

**Two Hundred and Fifty feet, in Old Court House Street,
OPPOSITE GOVERNMENT HOUSE.**

These Premises are, perhaps, *the most extensive, the most elegant in their exterior, and the most conveniently arranged in every respect, of any in Calcutta*, for successfully carrying on our extensive and multifarious business. We hereby are enabled to separate the numerous Branches of our engagements in the following *distinct* departments, each of which is

THE CALCUTTA REVIEW ADVERTISER.

under the management of either a partner or a responsible European assistant ; and all of which departments are *upon the ground floor*.

The Canton & Imperial Junction T, Cigar & Miscellaneous Department;
Entrance, first door in Old Court House Street, from Government House.

The Confectionery, Biscuit and General Refreshment Department;
Entrance, the centre door in the Building, in Old Court House Street, from Government House.

The Oilman's Stores, Grocery & General Family Purveying Department;
The last door in the Building, in Old Court House Street.

The Parisian, English, Continental and Fancy Goods Department;
Entrance, the first door in the Building in Old Court House Street, from Government House.

The Millinery, Hosiery and Clothing Department;
Entrance, second door in Waterloo Street.

The Whole-sale and Export Vine and General Store Department;
Entrance, second door in Raneemuddy Street.

The Calcutta Subscription Reading Room;
Entrance, the last door in the Building in Old Court House Street.

The Hotel-entrances are at the North and South Circular ends of the Building.

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Comprises the entire Premises, new and old, above the ground floor ; and will be capable, when finished of affording accommodation to nearly **TWO HUNDRED PERSONS.**

By the foregoing, it will be seen that in either one or the other of the Departments we are in a position to supply every necessary article, whether for wear, use or ornament ; the produce of nearly every civilised Country in the world ; an equal to which, for quality and economy in price shall not be found in *any* house in India.

To give effect to the whole of our arrangements and to afford the Public, a better idea than they have hitherto had, of the nature of our business and the extent of our Premises, we shall, from this date, designate the same

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By order of the Directors,

T. E. CARTER,

Deputy Secretary.

Calcutta, June, 1857.

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8 & 9, Old Court House Street. }

JUST RECEIVED AND OPENED OUT,

A very choice selection of useful and fancy Goods ; of which the following are particulars. Attention is respectfully solicited to these Invoices ; as we do not think that the articles comprised in them can be excelled in any other Establishment in this City.

Ladies' Bags in Morocco Leather. These are portable, of serviceable size and extremely convenient ; particularly while travelling.

Couriers' Bags. For Gentlemen in the Army and all Travellers, these offer an exceedingly convenient medium for carrying about one's person, all daily requisites. They are of leather, having some, a sling : others, a handle.

MEERSCHAUM PIPES.

Of various sizes. | *Billiard Meerschaums.*

MEERSCHAUM BOWLS IN MOROCCO CASES.

Meerschaum Pipes, in cases, fitted with Tobacco-Bags.

Cigar Tubes, in Meerschaum and Amber. Carved Meerschaum Cigar-Tubes.

THE UNIQUE ELASTIC TOBACCO POUCH. THE UNIQUE INDIA-RUBBER TOBACCO BAG.

Real Turkish Cherry Pipe-tubes, amber tipped.

CIGAR CASES.

A very handsome selection in Cigar Cases ; *some* having elegantly executed fancy portraits of females painted upon porcelain medallions. They are in morocco leather with rims of copper *gilt*. Some are *ribbed*, representing the raised surface of a Cheroot : others are elegantly stamped. There are likewise others in plain white leather, corded silk twist, &c.

LADIES' PORTMONAIES.

In velvet. | In morocco.

These have, *some*, gilt rim and clasp : others *steel*.

CUTTY-PIPES.

From MILO and CROP. These are contained in neat morocco cases ; *some one*, others *two pipes in a case*.

The above named Goods are highly deserving of attention ; and it will afford us real pleasure to wait upon intending purchasers, showing to them the various descriptions of Goods comprised in this Invoice.

The whole of the above were personally selected by our Mr. T. Cartner, in London.

CARTNER, NEWSON & CO.

Calcutta, June 26, 1857.

HARMAN AND CO.,
MILITARY OUTFITTERS, EMBROIDERERS,
TAILORS AND HABIT MAKERS,
TANK SQUARE, CALCUTTA.

COATS AND
WAISTCOATS.

1. From one collar seam to 2 the waist.
2. Ditto 2 to 3 length of coat.
3. Ditto 4 back seam to 5 at elbow.
4. Ditto 5 at elbow to 6 end of sleeve.
5. Round the breast close under the arms very tight under coat.
6. Round the waist tight under coat.
7. From 1 top of back seam over the shoulder to bottom of waistcoat in front.
8. Exact height of figure.



TROUSERS.

- A. From A. top of Trousers to B Cap of knee.
- B Ditto B. cap of knee to C. bottom of Trouser.
- D. Ditto D. close up in fork to C. again at bottom.
- E. Rd. the waist band tight.
- F. Ditto thick of thigh ditto.
- G. Ditto knee cap ditto H. ditto small below do.
- I. Rd the thickest part of body at seat tight.

DIRECTIONS TO MEASURE.

N. B.—Take the measures in Inches over the Coat except those marked under, and mention any peculiarity of figure, as very upright, or inclined to stoop, high or low shoulders, &c.

MESSES. HARMAN & Co. have again the pleasure, at the commencement of a new season, of appearing before their Patrons—the public generally, both with a view to express their gratitude for past favours, and to call attention to the increased facilities they possess for conducting their extensive and highly approved business.

They desire also to announce to their friends that their Summer stock, which is of the most fashionable, comprehensive and diversified character, is now ready for inspection at their spacious premises.

Tank Square, Calcutta.

THE CALCUTTA REVIEW ADVERTISER.

Although the system of business pursued by the Proprietors is well known and fully appreciated, yet, at the commencement of the Winter Season, it would be uncourteous and injudicious to depart from the usual method of pointing out the nature of that system, the mode of conducting the business, and the advantages to be derived by those who honour this Establishment with their patronage ; as well as to fail to furnish a brief outline of the styles, qualities and prices of Garment suitable for the Season.

It is with this feeling that the Proprietors respectfully call attention to the following facts :

A QUARTER OF A CENTURY'S EXPERIENCE, with unbounded capital at command, are strong testimonies in favour of the Proprietors, and they can proudly appeal to the *flourishing state of their Establishment*, as a proof of the popularity of their system.

CLOTHING, whether viewed as an article of necessary domestic use or luxury, places itself in a prominent position among the articles of large consumption ; it becomes therefore a matter of the first importance to be enabled to obtain it (either ready for immediate wear, or to order) in the *highest state of perfection*, and *yet at the most moderate prices*.

The extraordinary advantages possessed by Harman and Co., arises from the simple fact that they purchase enormous quantities of goods with ready money, and obtain a large discount.

Another most important feature. Firstly, they give the most unreserved invitation to the public to view their splendid premises, whether or not they wish to purchase, as it is the wish of IIarman and Co. to afford the public every opportunity of testing the truth of their assertions without annoying them with solicitations to become customers.

Secondly, every garment is *marked in plain, bold, legible figures*—the *very lowest* selling prices, from which NO ABATEMENT can be made, consequently insuring one uniform, undeviating, honest principle of business.

Thirdly, they will with pleasure

EXCHANGE ANY GARMENT

purchased at their Establishments, which does not give the most unqualified approbation, although *previously purchased and paid for*—or,

Fourthly, if required, the MONEY will be immediately RETURNED without the slightest hesitation or demur. Thus presenting a system of business founded on honour and liberality which cannot fail to establish confidence and good understanding between Buyer and Seller.



DRESS AND SURTOUT COATS,

Made from Patent wool-dyed Cloths, manufactured by the most eminent makers of the West of England, expressly for Harman and Co.

GENTLEMEN'S

Cloth Dress Coats, 25, 30, 35 and 45 Rs.; Cloth Frock Coats, 30, 40 and 50 Rs.

HARMAN AND CO'S

Ventilating and Venetian Cloth Surtouts	25 Rupees.
Fancy Tweed Coats.	20 "
Linen Coats, 8 Rs.; Brown Holland Coats, 8 Rs.; Long Cloth Coats, 4 "	" "

INDIAN ZEPHYR SURTOOTS, 15 RUPEES,

In Colours—Black, Drab and Grey.

TROUSERS.

The Trousers are of the choicest description—the materials have been selected from the first houses in England, Scotland and France—whilst the scientific principle by which they are cut, must place them high in public estimation.

In Black and Fancy Doeskins, 20 Rs.; Extra Superfine Black Cassimere, 25 Rupees.

Linen Drill Trousers, at 5, 6, and 7 Rs. per pair; American Jean ditto, at 36 per dozen.

WAISTCOATS.

In boundless profusion, suitable for balls, weddings, and ordinary purposes, cut in the German, French, and English fashion.

Silk Waistcoats, in great variety, at from 12 Rupees.

Black Cloth ditto, " 8 "

Extra superfine Black Cassimere ditto " 12 "

Alpacas and Lusters ditto, 6 Rs.; Fancy Quilting ditto " 7 "

PLAIN JEAN DITTO, 30 RUPEES PER DOZEN.



Fashionable Cambric Shirts, with Linen Fronts and Collars.....	Rs. 55
Ditto ditto Linen Collars and Wristbands	50
Ditto Cambridge Shirts	45
Ditto Long Cloth, with Linen Fronts and Collars.....	50
Ditto Long Cloth Shirts, with Linen Collars, Cuff, & Cambric Fronts	45
Ditto Long Cloth Shirts, with Cambric Fronts.....	40
Ditto Long Cloth Shirts	36
Ditto Long Cloth for sea wear	30
Long Cloth Shirts for ditto	25
Linen False Collars, per dozen.....	6

The Measures Required.

1. Round the Chest, taken tight over the Shirt.
2. Round the Waist, taken tight over the Shirt.
3. Round the Neck, taken about the middle of the throat.
4. Round the Wrist.
5. The length of Coat Sleeve, from the centre of Back down the seam of Sleeve to bottom of Cuff.
6. The length of Shirt at Back from the bottom of Neck-band.

Men's superior Merino India Gauze Pantaloons, at 5, 6 and 7 Rs. per pair.
Ditto ditto India Gauze Under-Vest, at 4 and 4.8 each.

White Cotton and unbleached Socks, at 8, 9 and 10 Rs. per dozen.
Superior Lisle Thread Socks, at 11, 12 and 13 Rs. per dozen.

GENTLEMEN TRAVELLING,

Whose limited stay in Calcutta prevents their having Articles made to order, will find our Establishment of the greatest convenience, as they can be supplied with clothing suitable for the Steamer, the Road, and the Rail, including Shirts washed for immediate use, at unprecedented low prices.

OUTFITS PREPARED ON THE SHORTEST NOTICE,

ALSO PREPARED ON THE SHORTEST NOTICE

STOCKS, BRACES, NECKERCHIEFS, &c.,

Always on hand.

Packing in Tin and Wax cloth 1-8 | Packing in Wax cloth only 0-8

Terms—Cash

NO CREDIT ALLOWED.

*Orders from the Mofussil must be accompanied by a Remittance,
or a reference for payment in advance,*

Ici on parle Français.

HARMAN AND CO.'S

LIST OF THE NEW INFANTRY TUNIC CHAKOS.	PRICES FOR REGULATION SASHES AND BELTS.
---	--



For Colonels, Lieutenant-Colonels and Majors.

Best Scarlet cloth, trimmed with gold lace, &c.	...	Rs. 120
Silver embroidered Crowns and Stars, per pair	...	8
Rich Cambric Silk Sash	...	40
White Patent Leather Waist Belt, with Snake Clasp	...	18
Do. Do. Do. with Plate	...	30
Chako, complete	...	60

For Captains, Lieutenants, and Ensigns.

Best Scarlet cloth Tunic, trimmed with gold lace, &c.	..	100
Silver embroidered Crown and Stars, per pair	..	8
Rich Crimson Silk Sash	..	40
White Patent Leather Waist Belt, with Snake Clasp	..	18
Do. Do. Do. with Plate	..	30
Chako, complete	..	60

STAFF UNIFORMS EQUALLY MODERATE.

LADIES' RIDING HABITS,

Will be produced under the superintendence of cutters and work-people thoroughly acquainted with this difficult and expensive department, whilst the prices at which they are made will form a striking contrast to those charged at other Establishments.

Superb West of England wool-dyed in any colours, beautifully padded and lined with silk, 100 Rupees.

Extra fine Saxony cloth ditto, beautifully cut and trimmed, 80 "

Superfine Llama cloth, fashionably made, with silk body, linings and richly trimmed, 60 "

Extra Superfine Alpaca, in various colours, 30 "

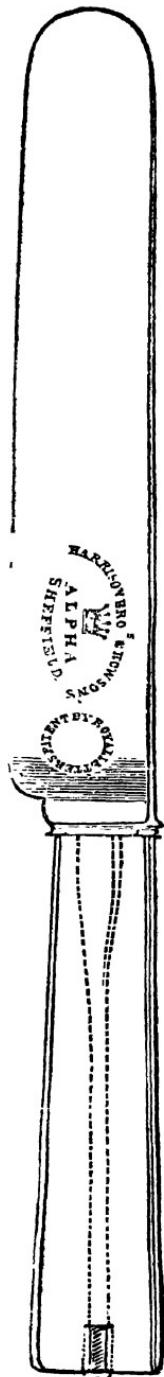
Ladies in the Mofussil can forward their Orders with the greatest certainty of being fitted, by sending a plain Cotton Body fitted to their size, and directions as to the style of Habit they prefer; also their height and exact size in inches round the Breast and Waist, as well as the height of the horse, as that regulates the length of the train.

HARMAN AND CO.'S LADIES' AND CHILDREN'S RIDING HATS.

On inspection, will be found to surpass their usual productions, whilst their sterling quality and reasonable price must render their Establishment a favorite resort to parents and guardians of Children.

Queen's Felt 16 Rs.; Argyle and Stanley, in colors, 12, 14 and 16 Rs.; Ladies' Felt, in colors, at 12 and 14 Rs.

Children's Argyle and Stanley at 10 Rs.



ELECTRO SILVER PLATE, &c.

Tank-Square, Calcutta, and Birchin Lane, London,

Beg to submit prices and particulars of a portion of their stock, the quality of which they can with confidence recommend, and trust they may be such as to meet the views of their constituents and others.

L. S. & Co's great aim, from the time of their having established business in India, has been to import every article in their line of the *Newest and Most Approved Designs*, and they have the testimony of many who have visited their establishment, that their importations in point of elegance are unrivaled.

In order that L. S. & Co. may be in a position to offer for sale any article of new design, immediately after its first appearance in England, make use of the **OVERLAND ROUTE**, as a speedy means of conveyance.

Having approximated their prices as near as possible to those of London Houses, they trust, that parties favoring them with orders, may endeavour to remit promptly.

Regimental Messes, or other large purchasers will have very liberal terms. All those desiring information, will, on application, be furnished with the fullest.

Estimates, priced Catalogues, and Illustrated Books will be sent to applicants, *Post-paid*.

The following are some of the leading articles of Stock :

THE CALCUTTA REVIEW ADVERTISER.

Electro Silver Plate.—*Beefsteak, Vegetable, Venision and Flat Meat Dishes, Soup and Sauce Turcans, Dish and Plate Covers, Hot Water Plates, Liquor, Cruet and Pickle Frames, Salt Cellars, Muffineers and Mustard Pots, Waiters, Wine Labels, Nut Crackers and Knife Rests, Claret Jugs, Wine Coolers, Epergnes with Plateaux, Candelabra, Piano, Chamber and Table Candlesticks, Sets of Dessert Cutlery, with Ivory, Mother-o'-Pearl, and Electro Plated Handles, Salad and Flower Stands, Breakfast Services of very handsome patterns, also, Spare Tea-Pots, &c., &c. Bread-Baskets and Toast Racks, &c. Spoons and Forks, &c., in all the leading patterns.*

Sterling Silver.—Presentation Mugs in great variety, also, Morocco Cases, containing a *Silver Knife, Spoon and Forks*.

Jewellery, &c.—Gentlemen's Gold and Silver Hunting Watches, Ladies' and Gentlemen's Rings in Standard Gold, Brooches, Bracelets, Guard and Albert Chains, Pencil Cases, Studs and Sleeve Links, &c., &c.

Mathematical Instruments and Thermometers.

Britannia Metal Goods.—Dish Covers with Electro Plated and Plain handles in sets of six, Rs. 80 to 120, and in sets of four, Rs. 70 to 90, Hot Water Plates, each Rs. 7 to 9, Plate Covers, each Rs. 4 to 6, Spare Tea Pots, Rs. 7, 8, 10 and 12 ; Coffee Percolators, Rs. 10 to 15.

Block Tin.—Dish Covers in sets of six, Rs. 35, 40, 45, 50, 55 and 60. Hot-water Plates, each Rs. 2-8 to 4, Plate Covers, each Rs. 2-8 to 4.

Cutlery.—*Patent Secure* Ivory handled Table Knives, per dozen Rs. 20 to 25, Dessert Knives, per dozen Rs. 18 to 22, Beef Carvers, per pair 7 to 8-8, Poultry Carvers, Rs. 6 to 8.

The above Cutlery is the *Genuine Manufacture of the Patentees*, and the following is an extract from their circular regarding it.

"The principal advantages of the Knives now patented are the following : The Handles are bored through, and the Tang of the Blade or Fork is made of such length as to extend to nearly the end of the handle, and is then secured to it by means of a Nut and Screw, as shewn in the engraving ; this holds all firm and compact together, and renders it impossible for the Blade or Fork to come either wholly or partially out of the handle, either from the effect of heat, hot-water, or any other cause. The Tang of the blade near the bolster being left square, (the hole bored in the handle being in a corresponding form) is then fitted very tightly into the handle, which prevents it from being in the least removed out of its place, to which the ordinary Table Knife, from constant use, is very liable."

THE CALCUTTA REVIEW ADVERTISER.

L. S. & Co. recommend the Patent Secure Cutlery by "Harrison Brothers and Howson" as being by far the best of any manufactured, they have sold large quantities of it in India, during the last four years, and would respectfully suggest reference being made, by intending purchasers, to those who have already bought and used it.

Table Knives with Electro-Silver Handles, of the Threaded, Threaded Shell, Kings and other patterns, to (match L. S. & Co.'s Spoons and Forks,) per dozen Rs. 20, 22, 25, and 28. Dessert Knives, per dozen, Rs. 18, 20, 22, and 25. Beef Carvers, per pair 7 to 10. Poultry Carvers, 6 to 9. Stag Horn Beef Slicers, from 10 to 16 per pair.

China and Earthen-ware.—*Dinner Services* for 12 persons, from Rs. 85 to 280, for 18 persons, from Rs. 195 to 350, and for 24, from Rs. 185 to 450.

Breakfast Services in Stone-ware, Rs. 70 to 85, and in China, Rs. 100 to 285.

Tea Sets in Stone-ware, Rs. 16 to 30, and in China, Rs. 30 to 75.

Dessert Services, from Rs. 65 to 250.

Glass-ware.—Sets of Cut Glass, comprising 12 Port, 12 Sherry, 12 Claret, 12 Liqueur, 12 Flat Champagnes, 12 Jellies, 12 Custard, 12 Tumblers, 12 Goblets, and 12 Finger Cups, in all 10 dozens, at from Rs. 90 to 250.

Dessert Services with centre piece and Salad Stand combined, round and oblong Dishes, Rs. 35, 40, 45, and 50.

RE-ELECTRO SILVER PLATING, AND GILDING.

L. S. and Co. beg to call attention to this department of their business, and to inform their constituents, and others, that they may have their *Dish Covers*, *Dinner* and *Breakfast Services*, *Candelabra* and *Candlesticks*, &c. &c., re-plated in a style to equal new goods of English manufacture, and at one-third the original cost.

The Silver being deposited by weight, parties desirous of having articles plated more strongly than when new, may have it done by paying something in addition to L. S. and Co.'s usual charge.

Those who have German-Silver Spoons and Forks on use may have them made *sur-similes* of Silver for the following prices, (*which are the same as for re plating*). Table Spoons and Forks, per dozen 12 to 16 Rs. Dessert Spoons and Forks, per dozen 10 to 14, Tea Spoons, 8 to 12.

LEWIS STEWART AND CO.

BELGRAVE COLLEGE, LONDON.

PRINCIPAL:

DR. W. KNIGHTON, M. R. A. S., formerly Professor in
the Hindu College, Calcutta.

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Cambridge.

In this College—which has been founded upon the principles of the Training System—the Pupils are *especially* prepared for the Universities, the Naval and Military Colleges, and the English and Indian Civil Service Examination.

TERMS:

For BOARDERS, above the age of Twelve, One Hundred Pounds per annum. No Extras.

Application for admission must be made, in the first instance, to the Principal, 28, Upper Belgrave Place, London.

THE
CALCUTTA REVIEW.

VOL XXVIII.

JANUARY—JUNE, 1857.

"No man, who hath tasted learning, but will confess the many ways of profiting by those, who, not contented with stale receipts, are able to manage and set forth new positions to the world: and, were they but as the dust and cinders of our feet, so long, as in that notion, they may yet serve to polish and brighten the armoury of truth, even for that respect, they were not utterly to be cast away."—MILTON.

CALCUTTA:
THACKER, SPINK AND CO.,
AND SOLD BY
ALL THE BOOK-SELLERS.

1857.

Sanders, Cones and Co., Types, No. 23, Loll Bazar, Calcutta.

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THE
CALCUTTA REVIEW.

JUNE 1857

- ART. I.—1. *Purchas his Pilgrimes.* London, Paul's Church Yard, at the Sign of the Rose, 1625.
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5. *Bruee's Annals of the East India Company.* London, 1810.
6. *Biographia Britannica.* London, 1760.

SIR THOMAS ROE and TOM CORYATE! What connection can there be—some of our readers may exclaim—between two men of such widely differing characters, between the firm, prudent, and dignified ambassador and diplomatist, and the flighty, crack-brained, erratic pedestrian, or—as he delighted to term himself—the Odcombian legge-stretcher? And yet widely as they differed in many respects, there were still certain points of resemblance in their characters, which may perhaps be deemed national features,—at any rate it is pleasing so to consider them. Both possessed a considerable share of independence and straightforward honesty, though exhibited in different fashions; each was actuated by a high sense of morality and of honorable feeling, although in the peripatetic it was frequently manifested in a form more quaint than chivalrous; and both were remarkably gifted with the great Anglo-Saxon virtues of energy and indomitable perseverance, which carried them forward successfully towards the widely different goals each had set before himself.

JUNE, 1857.

F F

But the circumstances which lead to their *juxta-position* in this article is one of specially Indian interest, to wit, their having strangely and unexpectedly been thrown together, nearly two centuries and a half ago, at the Durbar of the *Great Mogul*, exhibiting to the astonished Indian courtiers two extreme varieties of English character, position and habits, at a time when the name of England was barely known in Hindostan, and every thing connected with Englishmen was novel and apparently contradictory, and when the privileges and position of the stately ambassador and the pedestrian pauper, or *English Fukir*, were alike incomprehensible to the Padshah and to those around him. A brief sketch of the careers of the two men so strangely brought into contact and contrast under such peculiar circumstances, may not be altogether without interest; more especially as the requisite details are at present widely scattered, and probably not within the reach of the majority of our readers; even were they disposed to incur the trouble of hunting out and connecting the disjointed fragments of the narrative, which in neither case can after all be rendered satisfactorily complete.

We cannot pretend within the limits of a Review article to do more than touch on the leading points in the careers of our two heroes, dwelling only at any length on the period of their Indian experiences.

We commence with the greater though not the elder man of the two, whose name is the most familiar in India, although we believe that the details even of his history are but little known. Sir Thomas Roe was born at Low Leyton in Essex, about the year 1580. His family, which was originally from Lee in Kent, had for four generations been connected with the City of London. The first of the family who entered into mercantile pursuits was Reynold Roe of Lee, and his grandson Sir Thomas Roe was Lord Mayor in 1568, and did good service in suppressing the *Midsummer Watch*, and replacing it by a regularly organized *Standing Watch*, for the safety and police duties of the City: he was also one of the founders and early benefactors of Merchant Tailor's School; he married a daughter of Sir John Greisham, and left four sons, of whom a younger one Robert was father to the object of our narrative. The latter was early left an orphan, but although his mother was married again, to a Mr. Berkley of Redcourt, she appears to have done her duty by her son Thomas in a most exemplary manner, and to have taken great pains with his education. Most probably the foundation was laid in the school upon which he had a family claim, but it is more certain that at the early age of less than fifteen he was entered a Commoner of Magdalen College, Oxford. Here he did not remain long enough to take a degree, and on leaving it

went over to study in Paris. On his return he entered one of the Inns of Court, and shortly after was appointed Esquire of the Body to Queen Elizabeth, just previous to her death. In March, 1601, he was knighted by James the 1st, and specially attracted the regards of Prince Henry, with whose countenance and support—following the adventurous habits of the period—he undertook a voyage of discovery to South America.

With this object in view he built and equipped, in a great measure at his own cost, a small ship and a pinnace, the command of which vessels he entrusted severally to Captains Mathew Morgan and William White, both experienced seamen, who subsequently acquired considerable celebrity in their arduous profession.

Having completed all his preparations, our young adventurer set sail from Plymouth on the 21st February, 1609, and reached the mouth of the Amazon in the latter end of April. If not the first to discover this noble river, he was one of the first to explore it ; having sailed up its course for 200 miles, and then proceeded above 100 miles further in boats. From thence he sailed Northward and Westward, exploring the coast, entering several of the rivers and tracing their courses, occasionally engaging in expeditions inland, until he reached the Orinoco, having expended thirteen months in examining the coast between the two great rivers. From the Orinoco he proceeded to Trinidad, and from thence, after visiting several of the West India Islands, bore up for the Azores, and returned to England in July, 1611.

On the 14th January, 1615, he was commissioned by King James the 1st, to be *Ambassador to the Great Mogul or King of India* ; from which period he comes specially within the scope of Indian historical interest. The circumstances which led to the appointment were as follows :

Fifteen years had elapsed since “the Company of Merchants of London trading to the East Indics” had received their Charter of Incorporation from Queen Elizabeth. Their efforts for the first ten or twelve years were confined to experimental voyages to India and the Eastern Archipelago ; but everywhere they found the Portuguese firmly established in power, and both willing and prepared to oppose any intruders in a field which they considered especially their own. The English Company however persevered ; and finally, under an imperial firman dated 11th January 1613, established their head-quarters in Surat, with branch factories at Ahmedabad, Cambaya and Goza, whence they were extended to Ajmere and Agra. The Portuguese, jealous of these advances, assembled a powerful armament, and in the beginning of 1614, attacked four English vessels at anchor off Swally, the

port of Surat ; but were defeated with heavy loss in life and reputation, to the general delight of the native population, and especially of the agents of the Mogul Government, to whom the overbearing, insolent and rapacious conduct of the Portuguese had rendered them peculiarly obnoxious.

The Agents of the Company at Surat taking advantage of this favourable change, despatched Mr. Edwardes to the Court of the Great Mogul, then at Agra, with considerable presents and directions to obtain more favourable terms of trade ; whilst the Company at home applied to King James the 1st, to obtain his Royal authority that an Ambassador should proceed in his name to the Great Mogul, the Company agreeing to defray the expenses, in consideration that, under their exclusive privileges, they were to acquire such benefits as might result from the mission.

The royal choice fell upon Sir Thomas Roe, and a better selection it would have been difficult to make. In the prime of life,—being then about thirty-five years of age,—active and energetic, with a grave and stately demeanour, considerable tact, a good education, experience in mercantile affairs, a decided talent for diplomacy, great firmness of purpose and strength of character, he was eminently qualified for the difficult position of Envoy to a despotic and powerful native Court, as he was neither likely to be dazzled by the display of barbaric wealth, nor awed by the power or frowns of an arrogant sovereign, whilst he possessed the ability and temper requisite to enable him to deal with the intrigues and rapacity of the ministers at the Durbar.

The following letter addressed by King James to “*Selim Shagh the Great Mogol*” was entrusted to Sir Thomas Roe, as also a draft of a treaty of commerce and alliance, the Mogul’s acceptance of and signature to which was the main object of the Embassy.

“*James by the Grace of Almighty God the Creator of Heaven and Earth, King of Great Britaine, France and Ireland, Defender of the Christian Faith, &c. To the High and Mightie Monarch the Great Mogol, King of the Orientall Indies, of Chandahar, of Chismer (Kashmir) and Corazon, (Khorasan), &c. Greeting :—*

“ We having notice of Your great favour toward Us and Our subjects, by Your Great Firma to all Your Captaines of Rivers, and Officers of Your Customes, for the entertainment of Our loving subjects the English nation with all kind respect, at what time soever they shall arrive at any of the Ports within Your Dominions, and that they may have quiet trade and commerce without any kind of hinderance or molestation, &c., As by the Articles concluded by Suc Suff (*Sheikh Suffee*) Governor of the Guzerats, in Your name, with Our loving subject Captaine Thomas Best appeareth ; Havo thought it meete to send unto You Our Ambassador, which may more fully and

at large handle and treate of such matters as are fit to be considered of, concerning that good and friendly correspondence which is so lately begunne betweene Us, and which will without doubt redound to the honour and utilitie of both nations. In which consideration, and for the furthering of such laudable commerce, Wee have made choice of Sir Thomas Roe, Knight, one of the principall Gentleman of Our Court, to whom Wee have given commission under Our Great Seale of England, together with directions and instructions further to treate of such matters as may be for the continuance and increase of the utilitie and profit of each other's subjects, to whom We pray You to give favour and credit in whatsoever hee shall moue or propound toward the establishing and enlarging of the same. And for confirmation of Our good inclination and wel-wishing toward You, We pray You to accept in good part the Present, which Our said Ambassadour, will deliver unto You. And so doe commit You to the merciful protection of Almighty God."

The presents prepared for the embassy were, unfortunately, on an unwise scale of economy, and moreover were ill selected; the most important amongst them being a state carriage of the period.

Taking advantage of the sailing of a fleet of four vessels under the general command of Captain Keelinge, Sir Thomas embarked on the "*Lion*," Captain Newport, and finally sailed from England on the 9th of March 1615, and after touching at Saldanha and the Comera Islands in the Mozambique Channel, as also at Cape Guardafui ! they reached Socotra on the 24th August, where they remained a week, and thence steered for Surat, where they arrived on the 26th September, having followed the usual route adopted at that period.

On the same day Sir Thomas landed in state, accompanied by Captain Keelinge, the President and merchants of the factory, and "a Court of Guard of one hundred shot" (*musketeers*) from the fleet, commanded by Captain Harris, whilst "the ships in their best equipage gave him their Ordnance as he passed." On arriving at a large open tent prepared for the purpose, he was met by the chief native functionaries of the city, and treated with much outward respect; which did not however exempt him from considerable annoyance on the part of the Governor, who by force searched his chests and packages, and helped himself to whatever he thought fit.

After much controversy and many difficulties, Sir Thomas started on the 30th of October for the Padshah's Court, which was then established at Ajmir. The details of this trip as given in *Purchas* and *Churchill*, although differing in some particulars, appear to be taken from the same journal; both narratives are somewhat scanty and meagre, but as they are written by Sir Thomas himself in the first person, we prefer adopting

his own language as far as practicable ; which course we will pursue in the whole account of his Indian visit, connecting the scattered notices of interest by the few necessary remarks, and, as far as we are enabled to do so, filling up the blanks in his narrative.

His suite appears to have consisted of a Secretary, a Chaplain, an Artist and fifteen English domestics. At starting he followed the course of the Taptee up to Burhanpur ; his own brief account of this route is as follows :—

“ On the 30th of October I departed Surat and travelled but four days to Oumaria : the 1st of November to a village : the 2nd to Biarat twenty-one miles, where there is a castle, this town being on the borders of the kingdom of Guzerat, subject to the Mogul, and belonging to Abraham Chan. The 3rd, entered the kingdom of Par-dafsha, a Pagan lord of the hills, subject to nobody, and at fifteen miles' end lay in the fields by a city of note called Mugher. The 4th, nine miles, rocky way, lay in the fields by a village called Narompara. The 5th, fifteen miles, in the fields. The 6th, twenty miles to Nunderbar a city of the kingdom of Brampore, subject to the Mogul. Here we had first bread after coming from Surat, because the Banians who inhabit all the country, make no bread, but only cakes. The country is plentiful, especially of cattle, the Banians killing none or selling any to be killed. One day I met ten thousand bullocks loaded with corn, in one drove, and most days after, lesser parcels. The 7th, eighteen miles to Nimgul : the 8th, fifteen to Sirchelly : the 9th fifteen to Tolmere, (*Talnier*). The 10th, eighteen to Chapre, where having pitched the tents without the town, the king's officers attended me all night with thirty horse and twenty shot, for fear of the robbers in the mountains, because I refused to move into the town. The 11th, eighteen miles : the 13th, eighteen miles ; and the 14th, fifteen miles to Brampore, (*Burhanpur*), which I guess to be two hundred and twenty-three miles east from Surat. The country miserable and barren, the towns and villages all built of mud, so that there is not a house for a man to rest in. This day at Batharpore, a village two miles short of Brampore ; in their store house of Ordnance I saw divers of brass, but generally too short and too wide bored.”

At his entrance to Burhanpur Sir Thomas was met by the “ Cutwall well attended with sixteen colours carried before him,” by whom he was accompanied to the Serai of the town, which he calls the “ *Seralia*,” and describes as being “ a handsome front of stone, but the four chambers allotted me like ovens, no bigger, round at the top, made of brick in the wall side ;” a description that any one who has had the misfortune to put up in a Mogul Serai will readily recognize.

Here he found Sultan Parviz, the second son of Jchangir, who, together with the Khan-i-Khanan had, at the head

of a large force, established their head-quarters at Burhanpur, in order to control the confederate Deckani monarchs, who,—under the guidance of Malik Amber, an Abyssinian adventurer who had raised himself to the position of minister and actual ruler of the Nizam Shahi government,—continued to assert their independence. Of the relative positions of Parviz and the Khan-i-Khanan, Sir Thomas observes, “The Prince hath the name and state, but the Channa Channa governs all.”

On the 18th “for many considerations, as well to see the fashions of the Court, as to content the Prince who desired it, and whom he was loathe to distaste, because there was some purpose of erecting a Factory in the Town, where he found by experience that sword-blades sold well in the Armie,” Sir Thomas went to visit the Prince, carrying a suitable present with him.

Here the ambassador had to make his first stand for his privileges and position. He was escorted to the palace by his old acquaintance the Kutwal with a hundred horsemen, and found the Prince “seated in a gallery in great but barbarous state, with a rich canopie over him, and underneath all carpets, and all his officers and the great men of the town standing round with their hands before them as slaves.” To describe it rightly, he observes, “it was like a great stage, and the Prince sat above like as the mock kings doe there.” On advancing to the front through a lane of courtiers, an officer came and directed him to take off his hat and bow down touching the ground with his head. This he firmly refused to do, observing that “he came in honour to see the Prince and was free from the customs of servants,” and passing to the front of the throne, which was raised on a platform ascended by three steps, he bowed his body in the English manner, observing that being ambassador from the King of England to the Prince’s father, he could not pass the city without visiting him. Parviz bade him welcome, and asked him numerous questions regarding King James and England, when Sir Thomas, tired of standing below, and probably doubtful of his own exact rights, requested to be allowed “to come up and stand by him,” to which Parviz replied that “if the King of Persia or the Great Turke were there, it might not be admitted.” Sir Thomas ventured to doubt this assertion, but observed that he did not require the privileges or position of those potentates, but the same that their Ambassadors would receive. The Prince protested that “he already had them and should in all things.” Still not satisfied, he demanded a chair, and goes on to say “I was answered no man ever sat in that place, but I was desired, as a courtesie, to ease myself against a pillar covered about with silver, that held up his canopie.” These matters adjusted, the presents were produced, and permission solicited to establish a

factory at Burhanpur, and also for a supply of fresh carriage to carry on the presents to the Padshah. These were readily accorded, and the Prince satisfied with the result of the interview, proposed—as he could not admit of Sir Thomas on the platform of the throne in public—to adjourn to a private room, when he would shortly receive the Ambassador in a quiet way and on a more equal and familiar footing. He accordingly broke up the Durbar and went into another apartment; but unfortunately one of the presents was a case of wine, to which the Prince immediately applied himself, and soon became hopelessly drunk, when Sir Thomas, after waiting for a short time, returned to his quarters.

That night he was attacked with fever, which delayed his progress until the 27th, when he recommenced his march, though still weak and carried in a litter. On the 5th of December he crossed the Nerbudda, apparently at or below Mundlaisir, and encamped on the 6th, near Mandu, which he calls “the King’s famous castle of Mandva,” with which he subsequently became better acquainted. On the 18th of December, his tents were pitched under the far-famed fort of Chitor, which then, as now, was a deserted ruin, although its famous siege and capture had only occurred in the previous reign. He describes it as “an ancient Citie ruined on a hill, but so that it appears a tombe of wonderful magnificence; there still stands above one hundred churches, all of carved stone, many faire Towers and Lanthornes cut thorow, many pillars and innumerable houses, but no one inhabitant. There is but one ascent to the hill, it being precipitous, sloping up, cut out of the rocke, having foure gates in the ascent, before one arrives at the city gate, which is magnificent. The hill is encompassed at the top about eight cosse, and at the south-west end a goodly old castle.” All this is nearly applicable to its present condition. He falls into the common error of mistaking a title for a name, and says it belonged to “one Ranna a prince newly subdued by this King, or rather brought to confesse tribute.” He also says “Ranna is rightly descended from Porus the valiant Indian overcome by Alexander; so that I take this Citie to have been one of the ancient seats of Porus, though Dely much further North is reported to have been the chiefest, famous now only in ruines. Neare that stands a pillar erected by Alexander the Conqueror with a great inscription.” This is most probably an allusion to Feroz Shah’s Lath, and was written before Delhi had arisen from its ruins under the new designation of *Shah Jehanabad*.

On the 23rd of December our Ambassador reached Ajmir, where the Court was established; having been previously met on the way by Mr. Edwardes, the Agent at the Durbar and head of the factory, accompanied by Coryate and others.

Jehangir, who was at that time the ruler of Hindostan, had been on the throne about ten years, and, although his age was then only about fifty, his health had been materially affected by an inordinate use of wine, and his death was an event speculated on as one of early occurrence ; various intrigues were consequently on foot having reference to the probable succession. The person possessing the greatest influence over the Padshah was the famous Nur Jehan or—as she is better known to the English reader—"Noormahal," celebrated for her romantic career, her beauty and her talents. Her brother Asof Khan was the principal minister and most powerful subject. The Emperor's eldest son Khusru, who had been in rebellion at the period of his father's succession to the throne, had since that time been a close prisoner, but carried about with the Emperor in all his campaigns and royal progresses. Of him Roe frequently speaks in terms of interest and compassion, under the title of *Sultan Corseronue*. The second son Parviz was, as we have seen, in nominal command of the Deckan Army, at Burhanpur ; he was a young man of limited ability, little education, and very dissipated habits. The third son Khurram, whom Roe calls both *Caroone* and *Carroune*, but who is best known by his subsequent title of *Shah Jehan*, was at the court, and warily playing his game for the succession, supported at this time by Nur Jehan, and then as after, by Asof Khan, whose daughter he had married, and to whom he finally owed his throne.

Jehangir had succeeded to an extensive and tolerably consolidated empire, including Hindostan proper, the Punjab, Kashmir, Kabul, Kandahar, Scinde, Guzerat, Behar and Bengal ; but the Kingdoms of the Deckan south of the Taptee still preserved an uncertain independence. The conquest of many of these provinces was however recent, and the viceroys of the more distant governments frequently exhibited but lax obedience, whilst all were ready to throw off even the pretence of subjection whenever opportunity offered ; a feeling of insecurity pervaded the whole empire ; those in authority made the most of their time and opportunity, oppression was general, and the mass of the people were steeped in poverty, whilst the nobles accumulated and made a great display of wealth, and all kept up a large military following, as well for security as for state. The best and most trustworthy subjects were the Rajput Rajahs, whom Akbar had brought under subjection, and then attached to himself by liberality and family connections. Jehangir's mother was a Rajputni Princess of the house of Marwar, and he had himself married a sister of Man Singh the Jeipore Rajah ; she was the mother of the unfortunate Khusru ; whilst the latter also was married to a Rajputni, of whose affection and fidelity in adherence to him and sharing his imprisonment, Roe gives an interesting account.

Sir Thomas appears to have entertained a favourable opinion of Jehangir's disposition and ability, when not acting under the influence of Nur Jehan or other advisers ; but at the same time he narrates numerous instances of cruelty, meanness and childish folly on the part of the Padshah. Of the unfortunate Khusru he is quite a partisan, although he saw but little of him ; but of Prince Khurram or Shah Jehan—which latter title was conferred upon him during the father's life-time and whilst Roe was at the Court,—he speaks in far from favourable terms. He describes him as proud and haughty in manner, exceedingly bigoted, feared rather than respected ; “ flattered by some, envied by others, loved by none.” But yet he is admitted to be a man of ability and prudence, as also of business habits.

Such was the new and strange world in which the English Ambassador now found himself.

He had been suffering from illness during the whole of his march from Burhanpur ; which, with the fatigue and exposure of the journey, confined him to his bed for some days after his arrival at Ajmir ; but having sufficiently recovered, on the 10th of January, 1616, he was presented to the Padshah in open Durbar, and delivered his letters and presents. He had previously stipulated that he was not to perform any prostrations or go through any degrading or undignified ceremony ; and although Jchangir was excessively particular in enforcing amongst his own subjects the custom of prostration and kissing the ground, introduced by Akbar, he appears to have made no difficulty about dispensing with it on this occasion, and consented to Sir Thomas adopting the same forms of salutation and respect as practised at the Court of his own Sovereign. On this point Sir Thomas appears to have been very resolved, and his prudent and dignified firmness prevented difficulties and objections that would have been thrown in the way of a less determined representative.

The account of this first interview we give in his own words :—

“ At the Durbar I was led right before him, at the entrance of an outward raile, where met mee two principall noble slaves to conduct me nearer. I had required before my going, leave to use the customes of my country, which was freely granted, so that I would performe them punctually. When I entered within the first raile, I made a reverence ; entering in the inward raile, another ; and when I came under the King a third. The place is a great Court, whither resort all sorts of people. The King sits in a little Gallery overhead ; Ambassadors, the great men and strangers of quality within the innermost raile under him, raised from the ground, covered with canopies of velvet and silke ; under foote laid with good carpets : the meaner men representing gentry, within the first raile : the people without in a base court,

but so that all may see the King. This sitting out hath so much affinity with a theatre, the manner of the King in his gallery, the great men lifted on a stage, as actors, the vulgar below gazing on, that an easie description will enforme of the place and fashion. The King prevented my dull interpreter, bidding me welcome, as to the brother of my master. I delivered his Maiesties letter translated ; and after, my commission, whereon he looked curiously ; after, my presents, which were well received. He asked some questions ; and with a seeming care of my health, offered me his physicians, and advising me to keepe my house till I had recovered strength, and if in the interim I needed any thing, I should freely send to him and obtaine my desires. He dismissed me with more favour and outward grace, if by the Christains I were not flattered, then ever was showen to any Ambassador either of the Turke or Persian, or other whatsoeuer."

Of the presents that which gave the greatest satisfaction was the state carriage,—“a gallant Caroch of 150 pounds price”—which the Padshah got into and examined all over, causing it to be drawn about the Durbar. It affords a proof of the skill of the native workmen at that period, that in a few weeks they had made several other carriages from this model, equal in workmanship, but much more handsomely fitted up inside. There were also pictures of King James, his Queen and daughter, of several celebrities and beauties of the English Court, and one of Sir Thomas Smith, the Governor of the East India Company. These appear to have been appreciated; and it may surprise some of our readers to learn, not only that some of these were copied so exactly by the Padshah’s order that Sir Thomas could not at first distinguish the copies from the original, but that the monarch and his courtiers generally were good judges of painting. On this subject Sir Thomas writing to the Directors—relative to fitting presents to be sent—recommends “ Historical paintings, night-pieces and landscapes, but good, for they understand them as well as we.”

On the 22nd, Sir Thomas visited Prince Khurram, previously stipulating for the same ceremonial conditions that had been conceded by Jehangir. Of this visit also we will let him give his own account :—

“ The two and twentieth, I visited the Prince, who at nine in the morning sits out in the same manner (as his Father) to despatch his business, and to be seen of his followers. He is proud naturally, and I feared my entertainment. But on some occasion he not resolving to come out, when he heard of my arrivall, sent a principall Officer to meeet me, who conducted mee into a good roome (never before done to any) and entertained mee with discourse of our owne business halfe an houre untill the Prince was ready, who came abroad on purpose, and used mee better then his promise. I

delivered him a present, such as I had, but not in the name of his Maiestie, it being too meane ; but excused it, that the King could not take knowledge of his being Lord of Surat &c. lately conferred on him, but hereafter I doubted not his Maiestiy would send to him according to his worth. This was the respect of the merchants who humbly commended themselves to his favour and protection. He received all in very good part ; and after opening of some grievances and injuries suffered at Surat by us from his Governours, of which for respect to him I had forborne to complaine to the King, hee promised mee speedie and effectuall justice, and to confirme our securitie by any propositions I should offer, professing to be ignorant of any thing past, but what he had received by Asaph Chan, delivered by mee ; especially of any command to dismisse us, which the Governoour had falsely coyned, and for which he should dearely answere. So he dismissed me, full of hope to rectifie the decayed state of our reputation, with promise of a Firman for Surat effectuall."

On the 24th he again visited the Padshah and entered more fully into matters of business, requesting a new firman and treaty, and protection against the Governors of Surat and Ahmedabad, all of which was promised. The substance of the proposcd treaty, which, after much difficulty and delay, was finally obtained, was to the following effect. That there should be a perpetual league and friendship between the Padshah and the King of Great Britain ; that British subjects should have liberty to trade and establish factories in any parts of the Empire, including Surat, Scinde and Bengal : that they should be furnished with provisions and carriage at the ordinary rates of charge ; that they should be protected against exactions, and not subjected to custom on sales not exceeding the amount of sixteen reals of eight ; that all presents to the Padshah should be protected from being opened at the sea-ports, but should be forwarded to the English Ambassador at Court, to be delivered according to his instructions :—that all goods should be rated within six days after being landed, and that after payment of the stipulated duty they should pass free to any other English Factory :—that all purchases made by the British merchants should have free transit to the port of shipment :—that the property of the Company's servants who might die in the country should be made over to the Company's Agents :—that all provisions for the shipping should be free of duty :—that to obviate dispute, a special firman should be issued, clearly explaining and confirming the English privileges, and that copies of this firman should be forwarded to all officers at the ports. It was further stipulated that the duty on English imports should be fixed at three and a half per cent., and on reals of eight (the bullion in general use) at two per cent. only. Also that mutual assistance should be given against the enemies of the contract-

ing parties. And lastly—at the request of King James—that the Portuguese should be included in this treaty, provided they acceded to the terms within six months after due notification to the Viceroy at Goa.

Although it was a matter of no little difficulty to adjust the terms of this treaty, and finally to obtain the Imperial acceptance and signature, very much yet remained to be done. Without the signature of Prince Khurram and the Minister, Asof Khan, the document was merely an useless form, and they had not only to be conciliated and bribed—a necessary and invariable course in carrying through any measure, however simple or unobjectionable,—but their personal interests, as also those of Mokurib Khan, and Zulfikar Khan, the Governors of Surat and Ahmedabad, and others of their friends and partizans, were strongly arrayed against the proposed measures. The Portuguese also were very active in their opposition to arrangements that would tend to transfer the commerce of Western India from their own hands into those of their dreaded rivals, the English. The intrigues of their agents were consequently directed to frustrate the Ambassador's objects; in which they nearly succeeded by a lavish distribution in high quarters of "divers rubies, ballaces, emeralds and jewels," which, Sir Thomas observes, "so much contented the King and his great men that we were for a time nearly eclipsed."

Moreover, as time wore on and Sir Thomas' sound and liberal views regarding the best mode of conducting the commerce of India—so as to prove of the greatest benefit to his own country and Government—were developed, the Agents of the East India Company became alarmed for the existence of their monopoly. Added to this, he steadily and consistently opposed the plans of the Surat Agency for the establishment of a factory in Persia, which they considered an interference with their authority; and, which was still more galling, he honestly and loudly inveighed against the inefficiency of some of the agents employed, and still more against their general dishonesty and rapacity. This raised up many enemies amongst his own countrymen, whilst the misconduct of others was a continued source of annoyance, and frequently obstructed his arrangements. Lastly, he had to contend with—at such a Court—the most serious disadvantage of having come very inadequately provided with presents, and with but limited funds at his disposal to smooth the way in his difficult career of diplomacy.

His journal is chiefly occupied with details of his interviews with the Padshah, his son Khurram or Shah Jchan, and the Minister Asof Khan, and with the narrative of the numerous and continued intrigues of the two latter to defeat his objects. It would be wearisome to follow him through this tangled and disgusting scene of folly and falsehood, but as an illustration of his difficulties

and position we quote his own account of one amongst the scenes that occurred in the early part of his mission, which affords a sample of the state of affairs at the Durbar,^c and shows how much he had to contend with ; his ignorance of the language and the want of a good and trustworthy Interpreter not being amongst the least of his difficulties :—

“ The thirteenth at night I went to the Gussell Chan, where is best opportunitie to doe businesse, and tooke with me the Italian, determining to walke no longer in darknesse, but to proove the King, being in all other wayes delayed and refused : I was sent for in with my old Broaker, but my Interpreter was kept out ; Asaph Chan mistrusting I would utter more then he was willing to heare. When I came to the King, he appointed me a place to stand just before him and sent to aske mee many questions about the King of England, and of the present I gave the day before ; to some of which I answered, but at last I said, my Interpreter was kept out, I could speake no Portugall, and so wanted means to satisfie his Majesty, whereat (much against Asaph Chan’s desire) he was admitted. I bad him tell the King, I desired to speake to him ; he answered, willingly : whereat Asaph Chan’s sonne-in-law pulled him by force away, and that faction hedged the King so, that I could scarce see him, nor the other approach him. So I commanded the Italian to speake aloud, that I craved audience of the King, whereat the King called me, and they made me way. Asaph Chan stood on one side of my Interpreter, and I on the other : I to enforme him in mine owne cause, he to awe him with winking and jogging. I bad him say, that I now had been here two moneths, whereof more than one was passed in sicknesse, the other in compliments, and nothing effected toward the ende for which my Master had employed mee, which was to conclude a firme and constant love and peace between their Maiesties, and to establish a faire and secure trade and residence for my countreymen. He answered, that was already granted. I replied it was true, but it depended yet on so light a thred, on so weake conditions, that being of such importance, it required an agreement cleare in all points, and a more formall and authentique confirmation, then it had by ordinary Firmans, which were temporary commands, and respected accordingly. He asked me what presents we would bring him. I answered the league was yet new, and very weake : that many curiosities were to be found in our country of rare price and estimation, which the King would send, and the merchants seeke out in all parts of the world, if they were once made secure of a quiet trade and protection on honourable conditions, having been heretofore many wayes wronged.

“ He asked what kind of curiosities those were I mentioned, whether I meant jewels and rich stones. I answered, no ; that we did not think them fit presents to send backe, which were brought first from these parts, whereof he was chiefe Lord ; that we esteemed them common here and of much more price with us, but that we sought to finde such things for his Maiestie as were rare here and unseene, as excellent artifices in painting, carving, cutting, enamelling, figures in

brasse, copper, or stones, rich embroyderies, stuffes of gold and silver. He said it was very well ; but that hee desired an English horse : I answered, it was impossible by sea and by land ; the Turke would not suffer passage.

" He replied, that hee thought it not impossible by sea ; I told him the dangers of stormes and varietties of weather would proove it : he answered, if sixe were put into a ship, one might live ; and though it came leane, he would fat it : I replied, I was confident it could not be in so long a voyage, but that for his Maiesties satisfaction, I would write to advise of his request. So he asked, what was it then I demanded ? I said, that hee would bee pleased to signe certaine reasonable conditions, which I had conceived for the confirmation of the league and for the securitie of our nation, and their quiet trade, for that they had bee[n] often wronged, and could not continue on such termes, which I forbear to complain of, hoping by faire means to procure amendment. At this word, Asaph Chan offered to pull my Interpreter ; but I held him, suffering him onely to winke and make unprofitable signes.

" The King hereat grew suddenly in to choller, pressing to know who had wronged us, with such shew of fury, that I was loath to follow it, and speaking in broken Spanish to my Interpreter to answer, that with what was past I would not trouble his Maiestie, but would seeke justice of his sonne, the Prince, of whose favour I doubted not. The King, not attending my Interpreter but hearing his sonnes name, conceived I had accused him, saying *mio Filio, mio Filio* and called for him ; who came in great feare, humbling himself : Asaph Chan trembled and all of them were amazed. The King chid the Prince roundly and he excused himself, but I perceiving the King's error, made him (by meanes of a Persian Prince, offering himselfe to interpret, because my Italian spake better Turkish then Persian and the Prince both) understand the mistaking, and so appeased him, saying, I did no way accuse the Prince, but would in causes past in his Government, appeale to him for justice, which the King commanded hee should doe effectually. The Prince for his justification, told the King he had offered me a Firman, and that I had refused it, demanding the reason : I answered, I humbly thanked him, but he knew it contained a condition which I would not accept of ; and that further I did desire to propound our owne demands wherein I would containe all the desires of my Master at once, that I might not daily trouble them with complaints, and wherein I would reciprocally bind my Soveraigne to mutuall offices of friendship, and his subjects to any such conditions, as his Majesty would reasonably propound, whereof I would make an offer, which being drawne tripartite, his Majesty (I hoped) would signe the one, the Prince the other, and in my Masters behalfe I would firme the third. The King pressed to know the conditions I refused in the Princes Firman, which I recited ; and so we fell into earnest dispute and some heate. Mocrib Chan enterposing, said he was the Portugals advocate, speaking slightly of us, that the King should never signe any Article against them. I answered, I propound none against them, but in our owne just de-

fence ; and I did not take him for such a friend to them : the Jesuit and all the Portugals side fell in, in so much that I explained my selfe fully concerning them ; and as I offered a conditionall peace, so I set their friendship at a mean rate, and their hatred or force at lesse. The King answered, my demands were just, resolution noble, and bad me propound. Asaph Chan that stood mute all this discourse and desired to end it, least it breake out againe (for we were very warme) enterposed, that if wee talked all night it would come to this issue, that I should draw my demands in writing, and present them, and if they were found reasonable, the King would firme them : to which the King replied, yes * and I desired his sonne would doe the like, who answered he would ; so the King rose. But I calling to him, he turned about, and I bad my Interpreter say, that I came the day before to see his Majestie, and his greatnesse, and the ceremonics of this feast, that I was placed behind him, I confessed with honour, but I could not see abroad ; and that therefore I desired his Maiestie to licence me to stand up by his throne ; whereat he commanded Asaph Chan to let mee choose my owne place—”

With regard to the objects of his mission it will be sufficient to say that, after a weary two years of struggle, Sir Thomas having purchased the support of Nur Jehan and her brother Asof Khan,—the latter being secured by the present of a large and valuable pearl,—succeeded in obtaining the full confirmation of his treaty from all the parties concerned, together with other privileges, and firmans for the recovery of large debts due by the native officials to the Company and their agents at Surat, Ahmedabad and Cambay.

Sir Thomas's account of the scenes in which he participated at the Durbar is amusing and valuable, as the evidence of an honest and intelligent witness relative to the habits, forms and customs of the Court and Camp at that period, when the Mogul Empire was nearly at the zenith of its prosperity and splendour. It shows how little it differed, save in wealth and power, from the Native Courts of more modern date. He dwells continually on the same exhibitions of display and meanness, childishness and intrigue, cruelty and weakness, rigid formalities and gross ignorance, which constitute the record of more recent travellers, who have visited the Durbars of the descendants of Jehangir, or of the independent successors of his powerful Viceroys.

Of the Padshah's Court and mode of life he gives the following account :—

“ The King hath no man but eunuchs that comes within the lodgings or retyring roomes of his house : his women watch within, and guard him with manly weapons ; they doe justice one upon another for offences. Hee comes every morning to a window called the Jaruco, looking into a plaine before his gate ; and shewes himselfe to the common people. At noono he returns thither, and sits some houres

to see the sight of elephants and wilde beasts. Under him within the raile attend the men of ranke ; from whence he retyres to sleep among his women. At afternoone he returns to the Durbar before mentioned. At eight after supper he comes downe to the Guzelcan, a faire Court, wherein in the middest is a Throne erected of fre stone, wherein he sits, but sometimes below in a chaire, to which are none admitted but of great quality, and few of these, without leave, where hee discourses of all matters with much affabilitie. There is no businesse done with him concerning the State, Government, disposition of war or peace, but at one of these two last places, where it is publickely propounded and resolved and so registered ; which if it were worth the curiositic, might be scene for two shillings : but the common base people knew as much as the Counsell, and the newes every day, is the Kings new resolutions, tossed and censured by every rascall. This course is unchangeable, except sicknesse or drinke prevent it ; which must be knowne, for as all his subjects are slaves, so is he in a kind of reciprocall bondage ; for he is tyed to observe these houres and customs so precisely, that if he were unseene one day and no sufficient reason rendered, the people would mutinie ; two days no reason can excuse, but that he must consent to open his doores and be scene by some to satisfie others. On Tuesday at the Jaruco he sits in judgment, never refusing the poorest man's complaint, where he heares with patience both parts, and sometimes sees, with too much delight in blood, the execution done by his elephants. *Illi meruere, sed quid tu ut adesses."*

Of the celebrated ceremonies of the Noroz or New Year, and of the Padshah's Birth-day, Sir Thomas gives a gorgeous picture, although he sees and points out the hollowness that a close examination has always exhibited in these spectacles, but which has often escaped the notice of less discriminating observers.

The following is his account of the first feast of Noroz that he witnessed :—

" The second March, the Norozo began in the evening. It is a custome of solemnizing the new yeaire, yet the ceremonie begins the first new moone after it, which this yeare fell together ; it is kept in imitation of the Persians feast, and signifies in that language nine days, for that anciently it endured no longer, but now it is doubled. The manner is, there is erected a throne foure foote from the ground, in the Durbar Court, from the backe whereof to the place where the King comes out, a square of fiftie-sixe paces long and fortie-three broad was rayled in and covered over with faire Semianes or Canopies of Cloth of Gold, Silke or Velvet, joyned together, and sustained with canes so covered : at the upper end, West, were set out the pictures of the King of England, the Queene, the Lady Elizabeth, the Countesses of Somerset and Salisbury, and of a Citizens wife of London, below them another of Sir Thomas Smith, Governor of the East India Companie : under foot it is laid with good Persian carpets of great largenesse ; into which place

come all the men of qualitie to attend the King, except some few that are within a little rayle right before the throne, to receive his commands ; within this square there were set out for shew many little houses, one of silver, and some other curosities of price. The Prince, Sultan Coronne, had at the left side a Pavilion, the supporters whereof were covered with silver, as were some of those neare the Kings throne. The forme thereof was square, the matter wood, inlaid with mother of pearle, borne up with foure pillers, and covered with cloth of gold ; about the edge overhead like a valence, was a net fringe of good Pearle—upon which hung downe pomegranats, apples, peares, and such fruits of gold, but hollow : within that the King sate on cushions very rich in Pearles, and jewels ; round about the Court, before Throne the principale men had erected tents, which encompassed the Court, and lined them with velvet, damaskc, and taflatas ordinarily, some few with cloths of gold, wherein they retired, and sat to shew all their wealth ; for anciently the Kings were used to go to every tent, and there take what pleased them, but now it is changed, the King sitting to receive what new yaeres gifts are bought to him. Hee comes abroad at the usual houre of the Durbar, and retires with the same : then are offered to him by all sorts great gifts, though not equall to report yet incredible enough ; and at the end of this feast, the King in recompence of presents received, advanceth some and addeth to their entertainment some horse at his pleasure."

The details of the second Birth-day festival, which Sir Thomas witnessed, and which took place at Mandu, form a fitting pendant to the foregoing :—

" The first of September was the Kings birth day, and the solemntie of the weighing, to which I went, and was carryed into a very large and beautifull garden, the square within all water, on the sides flowers and trees, in the midst a Pinacle, where was prepared the scales, being hung in large tressels, and a cross beame plated on with gold thinne : the scales of massie gold, the borders set with small stones, rubies and turkeys, the chaines of gold large and massie, but strengthened with silke corde. Here attended the nobilitie all sitting about it on carpets untill the King came, who at last appeared clothed, or rather laden with diamonds, rubies, pearles, and other precious vanities, so great, so glorious ! His sword, target, and throne to rest on, correspondent ; his head, necke, breast, armes above the elbowes, at the wrists, his fingers every one, with at least two or thre rings ; fettered with chaines, or dyalled diamonds, rubies, as great as walnuts, some greater ; and pearles such as mine eyes were amazed at. Suddenly hee entered into the scales, sate like a woman on his legges, and there was put in against him, many bagges to fit his weight, which were changed sixe times, and they say was silver, and that I understood his weight to be nine thousand Rupias which are almost one thousand pound sterlinc : after with gold and jewels, and precious stones,

but I saw none, it being in bagges might bee pibles ; then against cloth of gold, silke, stuffes, linnen, spices and all sort of goods ; but I must believe, for they were in fardles ; lastly against meale, butter, corne, which is said to be given to the Banians and all the rest of the stuff : but I saw it carefully carried in, and none distributed. Onely the silver is reserved for the poore, and serves the ensuing yeare, the King using in the night to call for some before him and with his owne hands in great familiaritie and humilitie to distribute that money. The scale he sat in by one side, he gazed on me, and turned me his stones and wealth, and smiled, but spake nothing, for my Interpreter could not be admitted in. After he was weighed he ascended his Throne, and had basons of nuts, almonds, fruits, spices, of all sorts, made in thinne silver, which he cast about, and his great men scrambled prostrate upon their bellies : which seeing I did not, he reached one bason almost full, and powdered into my cloke ; his noblemen were so bold as to put in their hands, so thicke that they had left me none, if I had not put a remayner up. I heard he threw gold till I came in, but found it silver so thinne that all I had at first, being thousands of severale pieces, had not weighed sixtie Rupias. I saved about twentie Rupias weight, yet a good dishful, which I keepe to shew the ostentation ; for by my proportion he could not that day cast away above one hundred pound sterlinc. At night he drinketh with all his nobilitie in rich plate ; I was invited to that, but told I must not refuse to drinke, and their waters are fire. I was sicke and in a little fluxe of blood, and durst not stay to venture my health."

In the published portions of the Ambassador's journal we do not find any account of the personal appearance of Jehangir ; but Coryate describes him at the time of his visit as " a man of three and fiftie years of age, of complexion middle between white and black, or in a more expressive epitheton, olive ; of a seemly composition of body," and of medium stature but corpulent. Sir Thomas however gives a remarkable sketch of his religious condition ; after alluding to the lax opinions of Akbar on this subject, who at one time contemplated establishing a new religion with himself as its head, he observes that Jehangir " being the issue of this new fancie and never circumcised, bred up without any religion at all, continues so to this houre and is an Atheist." He describes him as very liberal not only in his own opinions but towards those of others, and with an equal dislike to proselytism and apostacy. " He is content with all religion, only he loves none that changeth." He is represented as observing all the festivals of the Hindoos, and invariably paying marked respect to the Christian doctrines, granting perfect freedom of worship ; ample privileges to the ministers and followers of that faith, both Protestant and Catholic, and frequently encouraging disputations between the professors of dif-

ferent creeds “ often casting out doubtfull words of his conversion, but to wicked purpose.” He further mentions that Jehangir sent two of his own nephews to a school kept at Agra for some years by Francisco Corsie, a Portuguese priest, where they were not only taught the Portuguese language, but instructed in the Christian religion, and finally “ were solemnly baptised in the church of Agra with great pomp, being carryed first up and down all the Citie on elephants in triumph, and this by the King’s expresse order, who often would examine them in their progression and seemed much contented in them.” Sir Thomas adds, however, that many considered this a measure of policy intended to render the young Princes—who might at any time become rivals and aspirants for the throne—odious and incapacitated for Government in the eyes of a Mahomedan population.

Of His Majesty’s predilection for the forbidden juice of the grape the Ambassador gives numerous instances : in fact his journal contains a prolonged record of Royal dissipation and inebriety, often attended with serious consequences. The nature and qualitics of the various European wines and liquors was a favourite topic with the Padshah, who was very minute and particular in his enquiries as to the process of manufacture, the sources and quantity of supply, the facilities and cost of importation. His sons all appear to have inherited the Royal taste in this respect. Sir Thomas, in alluding to the description of presents most suitable to send to the Durbar, especially recommends a large supply of Alicant and several cases of red wine : he mentions how very acceptable the small stock he had brought with him had proved both to the Padshah and his son, on which subject he observes “ never were men so enamoured of drink as these two,” and he goes on to say that “ such a present they would more highly esteeme then all the jewells of Chepeside.” But however freely the Padshah himself may have thought fit or agreeable to indulge in the use of wine, his subjects, even the highest, were prohibited from following his example except with special sanction or by invitation ; neither did he approve of any allusion to the regal *penchant* at other than social hours and meetings. A dereliction from this courtly etiquette was severely visited on those concerned, an instance of which, on the occasion of a party given in honor of Mahomed Rosa Beg, who had recently arrived as Ambassador from Shah Abbas, the monarch of Persia, is thus narrated by Sir Thomas :—

“ The King returned at evening, having been over-night farre gone in wine ; some by chance or malice spoke of the merry night past, and that many of the Nobilitie dranke wine, which none may doe but by leave. The King forgetting his order demanded who gave it ; it

was answered, the Buxic (for no man dares say it was the King when he would onely doubt it.) The custome is, that when the King drinkes (which is alone) sometimes hee will command that the nobilitie shall drinke after, which if they doe not it is an offence too, and so that every man who takes the cup of the wine of the officers, his name is written, and he makes Teselim though perhaps the King's eyes are mystie. The King not remembiring his own command called the Buxic ; and demanded if he gave the order. He replied No, (falsely ; for he received it and by name called such as did drinke with the Embassadour) wherat the King called for the list and the persons, and fined some one, some two, some three thousand rupias, some lesse, and some that were neerer his person, he caused to be whipped before him, receiving one hundred and thirtie stripes with a most terrible instrument, having at each end of foure cords, irons like spur rowels, so that every stroke made foure wounds. When they lay for dead on the ground he commanded the standers by to foot them, and after the Porters to breake their staves upon them. Thus most cruelly mangled and bruised, they were carried out, of which one dyed in the place. Some would have excused it on the Embassadour, but the King replied hee onely had give him a cup or two. Though drunkennesse be a common and a glorious vice and an exercise of the Kings, yet it is so strictly forbidden, that no man can enter into the Gusechan where the King sits, but the porters smell his breath ; and if hee have but tasted wine is not suffered to come in ; and if the reason be knowne of his absence, he shall with difficultie escape the whip ; for if the King once take offence, the father will not speake for the sonne. So the King made the companie pay the Persian Embassadour's reward."

Sir Thomas gives a detailed account of the reception of this Persian Ambassador, and draws a satisfactory and agreeable comparison between the conduct and reception of the latter and himself. The Persian was profuse in his prostrations, his *Teselims* and *Sizedahs*, whilst Sir Thomas, prudently as well as honorably, refused to comply with any demands for abject forms of respect, or in fact to do more than would be required from him at his own Court in the presence of his own sovereign. The good policy of this line of conduct was evinced in the respect generally paid to him, the high position accorded him in the Durbar, and the ultimate success of his mission ; whilst the Persian Envoy was placed from the commencement in a lower position, and although he brought a liberal and handsome supply of presents, was, after his introduction, treated with neglect and contempt, and finally returned to Persia, thoroughly disgusted with his reception and the complete failure of his mission.

But to conclude the summary of the Padshah's character, as exhibited in the glimpses with which Sir Thomas favors us, we

must not omit to notice the indications of cruelty, or at least of all absence of feeling, which is apparent on many occasions; for instance, in alluding to a little anecdote of Court scandal we find :—

“ This day a Gentle-woman of Normall's was taken in the King's house in some action with an eunuch: another Capon that loved her, killed him: the poore woman was set up to the arnepits in the earth, hard rammed, her feet tied to a stake, to abide three days and two nights without any sustenance, her head and armes exposed to the sunne's violence; if shee dyed not in that time, shee should be pardoned: the eunuch was condemned to the elephants. This damsell yielded in pearles, jewels, and ready money, sixtecene hundred thousand Rupics.”

Again when on the line of march he observes :—

“ I remooved soure course to *Ramsor*, where the King had left the bodies of an hundred naked men slaine in the fields for robbery.”

And on another occasion he says :—

“ I overtooke in the way a camell laden with three hundred men's heads sent from Candahar, by the Governor in present to the King, that were out in rebellion.”

In the earlier part of his visit he recounts the following instance :—

“ A hundred thieves were brought chained before the Mogul with their accusation: without further ceremony, as in all such cases is the custom, he ordered them to be carried away, the chiefe of them to be torne in pieces by dogges, the rest put to death. This was all the process and form. The prisoners were divided into several quarters of the town, and executed in the streets, as in one by my house; where twelve dogges tore the chiefe of them in pieces, and thirteen of his fellowes having their hands tied down to their feet, had their necks cut with a sword, but not quite off, being so left naked, bloody and stinking, to the view of all men and the annoyance of the neighbourhood.”

Such was the character of the monarch and his courtiers as described by the Ambassador, whose views are fully borne out and repeated by Coryate and Terry, both of whom were at the Durbar at the same time.

From December 1655, to November following, Sir Thomas Roe remained with the Court at Ajmir conducting his difficult negociation. During that period he appears to have made several friends, especially Jemal-u-din Hussein, formerly Subahdar of Behar, and subsequently appointed Viceroy in Scinde. With this venerable nobleman, whom he describes as “ of more

understanding and courtesie than all his countrymen, and to be esteemed hospitable, and a receiver of strangers, not scantily ambitious," he had many friendly and social meetings and conversations, obtaining much information regarding the condition of the empire and the objects of the different parties in the state, and also some valuable hints and counsel as to his own proceedings. From the Shah himself he received marked and continued attention, being constantly invited to the Royal drinking bouts, and always kindly noticed and placed in a high and honorable position whenever he attended the Durbar: moreover he was frequently presented with the whole or portion of a deer or wild hog, the result of the Royal chase. From Prince Khurram he met with general coldness, and occasional incivility and active annoyance; especially on one occasion, when an English boy named Jones, a domestic of the Ambassador, having committed some fault and fearing punishment, left the embassy and took refuge with an Italian living at Ajmir. When the Prince heard of this—being at the time very irate with Sir Thomas for complaining against his protégé, Zulfikar Khan, Governor of Surat,—he took the boy under his protection and into his service, giving him a present of a hundred and fifty rupees and the monthly pay of two horsemen, and instructed him to set his master at defiance when he claimed him. But the poor lad shortly repenting of his conduct, confessed his fault and intreated pardon in the presence of the Padshah, who ordered him to be restored to his master without further injury or molestation, upon which the Prince, being exceedingly enraged, had the meanness to claim the refund of the present he had made the lad.

On the 20th of August, Ajmir was visited by one of those tremendous storms of rain, to which, on the Western coast, the Europeans had given the name of the *Elephant*; of this he gives the following description:—

"The twentieth day and the night past, fell a storne of raine called the *Oliphant*; usual at going out of the raines, but for the greate-nesse very extraordinary; whereby there ran such streames into the Tanke whose head is made of stone, in shew extremely strong, but the water was so growne that it breake over in one place, and there came an alarme and sudden feare, that it would give way and drowne all that part of the Towne where I dwelt, in so much that the Prince and all his women forsooke their house, my next neighbour carried away his goods and his wife on his elephants and camels to flye to the hill side. All men had their horses ready at their doores, to save their lives, so that we were much frighted and sat up till midnight, for that we had no help but to flye ourselves and loose all our goods, for it was reported that it would run higher than the top of my house by threc foot, and carry all away, being poore muddy buildings.

Foureteene yeares past, a terrible experience having showed the violence ; the foot of the Tanke being levell with our dwelling and the water extreaine great and deepe, so that the top was much higher than my house, which stood in the bottome in the course of the waters, every ordinary raine making such a current at my doore, that it runne not swifter in the arches of London bridge, and is for some houres impassible by horse or man. But God otherwise disposed it in his mercy : the King caused a sluice to be cut in the night to ease the water another way ; yet the very raine had washed downe a great part of the walls of my house, and so weakened it by divers breaches, in that I feared the fall more than the flood, and was so moyled with dirt and water that I could scarce be dry or safe : for that I must be enforced to be at new charge, in reparation. Thus were we every way afflicted, fires, smokes, floods, stormes, heats, dust, flies, and no temperate or quiet season."

Daring the residence of the Court at Ajmir the intrigues and influence of Prince Khurram aided by Asof Khan, Nur Jehan and their father Etimad Dowlah, obtained from the Padshah an order for the transfer of Sultan Parviz to the charge of Bengal, and the appointment of Sultan Khurram to the Government of the Dockhan. But previous to the departure of the latter for his new command, he was invested by his father with the title of Shah Jehan, by which he was thenceforth designated, and which was understood as equivalent to his nomination as successor to the throne. Further to insure his authority, and guard him against supposed attacks from his elder brother Khusru, the latter unfortunate prince was handed over to Shah Jehan's custody, the natural result of which was the subsequent opportune death of the unfortunate victim. The opposition that Roe experienced from Shah Jehan has evidently tinged his views regarding the character of that prince, and he insinuates one circumstance connected with his feelings and conduct, which we do not remember to have noticed in any other cotemporary writer, and which is not borne out by the subsequent conduct of the parties, viz., that Shah Jehan was himself in love with his step-mother Nur Jehan.

The following is the passage referred to :—

"The Prince sate in the same magnificence, order and greatnesse that I mentioned of the king. His throne being plated over with silver, inlaid with flowers of gold, and the canopie over it square, borne on foure pillars covered with silver ; his armes, sword, buckler, bowe, arrowes, and launce on a table before him. The watch was set, for it was evening when he came abroad. I observed now he was absolute and curious in his fashion and actions : he received two letters, read them standing, before he ascended his throne. I never saw so settled a countenance, nor any man keepe so constant a gra-

vitie, never smiling, nor in face shewing any respect or difference of men; but mingled with extreame pride and contempt of all; yet I found some inward trouble now and then assaile him, and a kind of brokenesse and distraction in his thoughts, unprovidedly and amazedly answering suitors, or not hearing. If I can judge any thing, he has left his heart among his Father's women, with whom hee hath liberty of conversation. Normahall in the English coach the day before visited him, and took leave, she gave him a cloack all imbrodered with pearles, diamonds and rubies, and carried away, if I erre not, his attention to all other businesse."

Shah Jehan took his departure for the Deckan, on the 1st November 1616, and on the following day Jehangir moved into camp also, with the intention of marching towards Agra.

Of the ceremonies attending his departure, and the state and magnificence exhibited on the occasion, Sir Thomas gives the following gorgeous description :—

"The second, the King removed to his tents with his women and all the Court, about three mile. I went to attend him, comming to the Pallace. I found him at the Jarraco window, and went up on the scaffold under him; which place not having seene before, I was glad of the occasion. On two tressels stood two eunuches with long poles headed with feathers, fanning him; hee gave many favours and received many presents; what hee bestowed hee let downe by a silke, rould on a turning instrument; what was given him, a venerable fatte deformed olde matrone, hung with gymbals like an image, pluckt up at a hole with such another clue; at one side in a window were his two principall wives, whose curiosite made them breake little holes in a grate of reed that hung before it, to gaze on me. I saw first their fingers, and after, lyng their faces close now one eye now another, sometime I could discerne the full proportion; they were indifferently white, blacke haire smoothed up, but if I had had no other light, their diamonds and pearlcs had sufficed to shew them: when I looked up, they retyred and were so merry, that I supposed they laughed at me. Suddenly the King rose and wee retyred to the Durbar and sate on the carpets attending his comming out: not long after he came and sate about half an houre untill his ladies at their doore were ascended their elephantes, which were about fifty, all most richly furnished, principally three with turrets of gold, grates of gold wyre, every way to looke out, and canopies over of cloath of silver. Then the King descended the staires with such an acclamation of Health to the King as would have out-eryed cannons. At the staires foote, where I met him, and shuffled to be next, one brought a mighty carpe, another a dish of white stuffe like starch, into which he put his finger and touched the fish, and so rubbed it on his fore-head; a ceremony used presaging good fortune. Then another came and buckled his sword and buckler, set all over with great diamonds and rubies, the belts of gold suitable: another hung on his quiver with thirty arrowes, and his bow in a case (the same that was presented by

the Persian Ambassadour,) on his head he wore a rich turbant, with a plume of herue tops, not many, but long: on one side hung a rubie unset, as bigge as a walnut; on the other side a diamond as great; in the middle an emerald like a heart, much bigger. His shash was wreathed about with a chaine of great pearles, rubies and diamonds drild. About his necke he carried a chaine of most excellent pearle thrice double, so great as I never saw; at his elbowes armelets set with diamonds; and on his wrists threc rowes of diamonds of several sorts: his hands bare but almost on every finger a ring; his gloves were English, stucke under his girdle; his coat of cloath of gold, without sleeves, upon a fine semain as thinne as lawne; on his feet a paire of embroydered buskins with pearle, the toes sharpe and turning up. Thus armed and accommodated he went to the coach, which attended him with his new English servant, who was cloathed as rich as any player, and more gaudy and had trained fourre horses, which were trapped and harnished in gold velvets. This was the first he ever sate in, and was made by that sent from England, so like, that I knew it not but by the covr, which was a gold Persian velvet. He got into the end, on each side went two eunuches, that carried small maces of gold, set all over with rubies, with a long bunch of white-horse-taile to drive away flyes: before him went drummes, ill trumpets and loud musicke, and many canopies, quittusols, and other strange ensignes of Majesty of cloth of gold set in many places with great rubies: nine spare horses, the furniture some garnished with rubies, some with pearles and emeralds, some onely with studs enamelled.

" The Persian Ambassador presented him a horse; next behind him came three palankees, the carriages and feet of one plated with gold, set at the ends with pearles, and a fringe of great pearles hanging in ropes a foote deepe: a border aboute, set with rubies and emeralds. A footman caryed a foot-stoole of gold, set with stones; the other two were covered and lined with cloath of gold. Next followed the English coach, new covered and trimmed rich, which he had given the Queene Normalhell, who rode in it: after them a third of this country fashion, which me thought was out of countenance; in it sate his younger sonnes: after followed about twenty elephants royall, spare, for his own ascendings, so rich, that in stones and furniture they braved the sunne. Every elephant had divers flaggs of cloth of silver, gilt satin and taffata. His noblemen hee suffered to walke a foote, which I did to the gate, and left him. His wives on their elephants were carryed like parakitoes half a mile behind him.

" I tooke horse to avoyd presse and other inconvenience, and crossed out of the Leskar before him, and attended until he came neare his tents. He passed all the way betweene a guard of elephants, having every one a turret on his backe; on the foure corners foure banners of yellow taffaty; right before a sling mounted, that carried a bullet as big as a great tennis ball, the gunner behind it; in number about three hundred: other elephants of honor that went before and after about six hundred, all which were covered with velvet or cloath of gold and had two or three gilded banners carried: in the way

runne divers foot-men with skinnes of water that made a continual shewre before him : no horse nor man might be suffered to approach the coach by two furlongs, except those that walked a foot by, so that I posted to his tents to attend his alighting."

Of the royal camp itself he, like all other travellers of the period, writes in great admiration:—

" They were walled in halfe a mile in compasse, in forme of a fort, with divers coynes and bulwarkes, with high Cannats of a course stiffe made like arras, red on the out-side, within which, figures in panes, with a handsome gate house. Every post that bare up these, was headed with top of brasse. In the midst of this Court was a throne of mother of pearle, borne on two pillars raised on earth, covered over with an high tent, the pole headed with a knob of gold ; under it canopies of cloath of gold, under-foot carpets. Within this whole raile was about thirty divisions with tents. All the noble-men retired to theirs, which were in excellent formes, some all white, some greene, some mingled, all encompassed as orderly as any house, one of the greatest rarities and magnificences I ever saw. The whole vale showed like a beautiful Citie for that the ragges nor baggage were not mingled."

And again on a subsequent date he writes:—

" I viewed the Leskar, which is one of the wonders of my little experience, that I had seene it finished and set up in foure houres, except some of great men that have a double provision, the circuit being little lesse than twenty English miles, the length some waies three course, comprehending the skirts, and the middle, wherein the streets are orderly and tents joined. Here are all sorts of shops, distinguished so by rule, that every man knowes readily where to seeke his wants, every man of qualitie, and every trade being limited how farre from the king's tents he shall pitch, what ground he shall use, and on what side without alteration, which as it lies together, may equale almost any towne in Europe for greatnessse, onely a musket shot every way no man approacheth the Atassy-kanah royll, which is now kept so strict, that none are admitted but by name ; and the time of the Durbar in the evening is omitted and spent in hunting or hawking on tanks by boat, in which the King takes wonderful delight and his barges are remooved on carts with him, and he sits not but on the side of one, which are many times a mile or two over. At the Jarruco in the morning he is seene, but businesse or speech prohibited, all is concluded at night at the Guzelchan, when often the time is prevented by a drowsinessse, which possessesthe the King from the fumes of Bacchus."

The demands of the Imperial establishment for carriage were so heavy, that although furnished with an order for what he required, the English Ambassador experienced the greatest difficulty in getting away from Ajmir, and the Persian Ambassador was in

even a worse plight, although he had “fought, chid, brauld, complained and could get no remedy.” For some days they were left to comfort each other, until at last the population having found a similar difficulty or manifested a dislike to moving, “the King gave order to fire all the Leskar at Ajmir to compell the people to follow,” when Sir Thomas succeeded in purchasing some carriage and joined the Padshah by the end of the month, the Camp having only moved a short distance. His camp equipage and marching establishment appears to have been on a very reduced and inadequate scale, for he says, “I was unfitted with carriage and ashamed of my provision, but five years allowance would not have furnished me with one indifferent suite sortable to others.”

On the 6th December, they encamped near the walled town of Godah, which Sir Thomas describes as one of the best built he saw in India, “full of Temples and Altars of Pagods and gentilitial Idolatry, many fountains, wells, tankes and summer-houses of carved stone curiously arched,” of which nothing now remains. On the 23rd January, 1617, they reached the famous fort of Rintinbour, where information was received that Malik Amber, the head and soul of the confederacy of the Deckani princes, exhibited but little sign of alarm at the advance of Prince Shah Jehan, and that the Khan-i-Khanan had manifested a spirit of insubordination, not approving of the change from the weak cypher Parviz to the active and ambitious Shah Jehan. This intelligence induced Jehangir to change his plans, more especially as an epidemic, which Roe calls the plague, but which probably was cholera, was then ravaging Agra; so he turned his course southward, and marched slowly via Ugin to Mandu, in order to be ready to act in support of his son if necessary.

The Camp reached Mandu on the 3rd of March, where after some difficulty Sir Thomas found comfortable quarters in an old tomb, having as he says “found a faire court well walled, and in that a good church or great tombe; it was taken up by one of the King’s servants, but I got possession and kept it, being the best within all the wall, but two miles from the King’s house, yet so sufficient that a little charge would make it defensible against rains, and save one thousand Rupias, and for aire very pleasant upon the edge of the hill.”

Some years ago—if not still visible—the name of Sir Thomas Roe was to be seen on the walls at an old tomb amongst the ruins of Mandu, which however was generally supposed to have been traced there at a much more recent date. If really his autograph, it would tend to prove the antiquity of the English mania for scribbling names.

The greatest inconvenience he experienced was from the scarcity

of water. He was however permitted to draw four loads daily from a well held in possession by one of the Omrahs of the Court. Mandu appears to have been even then in a ruinous condition, and he speaks of lions as being numerous in the neighbourhood, and even coming into the camp. One in particular invaded his residence and carried off his sheep and dogs, and he had to apply for special permission to destroy it, as the slaughter of lions was a royal prerogative.

On the whole he does not speak agreeably of his residence here, for he observes "there was not a misery nor punishment which either the want of Government or the natural disposition of the clime gave us not."

About the period of their reaching Mandu a convoy arrived from Surat, containing presents for the Padshah and other members of the Court, together with various articles which Sir Thomas required for himself and suite, and also to use as presents or douceurs, as he might find expedient in the prosecution of his plans.

These presents had unfortunately been delayed some months at Surat, and were finally sent forward on his urgent requisition, placed under the charge of the Reverend Mr. Terry, who having recently arrived from England, was appointed to join the embassy as Chaplain in the place of the Reverend Mr. Hill, who had come out with Sir Thomas, but died at Ajmir in September 1816. Mr. Terry and his convoy fell into the hands of Shah Jehan at Burhanpur, who helped himself to a portion of the merchandize that accompanied, but was compelled to pass on the royal presents intact, Sir Thomas having made a serious complaint to the Padshah when he heard of their detention.

On their arrival at length in camp, instead of being forwarded to the British Embassy for distribution and presentation in the name of King James or the East India Company, they were seized by Jehangir, conveyed to his quarters, and the cases opened and inspected by the monarch himself with childish curiosity and barbarian cupidity. Sir Thomas on hearing of this disgraceful proceeding was excessively indignant, and standing boldly on his privileges and position, protested strenuously against the insult thus offered to his sovereign and himself, upon which he was summoned to Jehangir's presence, who endeavoured to excuse himself and coax the ambassador into good humour. But the whole scene of royal rapacity and folly, as narrated by Sir Thomas, is so curious, and affords so good an illustration of the habits and morality of the Court, that notwithstanding its length we cannot resist laying it before our readers:—

" When I came, with base flattery worse than the theft, or at least to give me some satisfaction, because trouble was in my face, for

otherwise it is no injury heere to bee so used ; he beganne to tell me he had taken divers things that pleased him extreamely well, naming two Cushions embroydered, a folding Glasse and the Dogges, and desired mee not to be discontent, for whatsoeuer I would not give him, I should receive backe ; I answered, there were few things that I intended not to present him ; but that I took it a great dis-courtesie to my Sovereigne, which I could not answer, to have that was freely given stayed, and not delivered by my hands to whom they were directed ; and that some of them were intended for the Prince and Normahall, some to lye by me, on occasions, to prepare his Majesties favour to protect us from injuries that of strangers were daily offered, and some for my friends or private use, and some that were the Merchants which I had not to do with all : he answered, that I should not be sad nor grieved that hee had his choyce, for that hee had not patience to forbear seeing them ; hee did mee no wrong in it, for hee thought I wished him first served, and to my Lord the King of England hee would make satisfaction and my excuse : the Prince, Normahall and hee were all one, and for any to bring with me to procure his favour, it was a ceremony and unnecessary, for he would at all time heare me ; that I should be welcome emptie handed, for that was not my fault, and I should receive right from him ; and to go to his sonne, he would returne me somewhat for him ; and for the merchants goods, pay to their content ; concluding I should not be angry for this freedome ; he entended well : I made no reply. Then he pressed me whethere I was pleased or no. I answered his Majesties content pleased me ; so seeing master Terry, whom I brought in with me, he called to him, Padre you are very welcome, and this house is yours, esteeme it so, whensoever your desire to come to me, it shall be free for you, and whatsoever you will require of me, I will grant you.

" Then he converted himselfe with this cunning unto me, naming all particulars in order. The Dogges, Cushions, Barber's case you will not desire to have backe, for that I am delighted in them ; I answered no. Then said he there were two Glasse chestes, for they were very meane and ordinary, for whom came they ? I replied, I entended one for his Majestie the other to Normahall. Why then, said hee, you will not aske that I have, being contented with one ? I was forced to yield. Next he demanded whose the Hats were, for that his women liked them. I answered three were sent to his Majesty, the fourth was mine to weare. Then said he you will not take them from me, for I like them, and yours I will returne if you need it, and will not bestow that on me, which I could not refuse. Then next he demanded whose the Pictures were. I answered sent to me to use on occasions, and dispose as my businesse required : so hee called for them and caused them to be opened, examined me of the women, and othere little questions requiring my judgments of them. Of the third Picture of Venus and a Satyre, he commanded my interpreter not to tell me what he said, but asked his Lords what they conceived should be the interpretation or morale of that ; he showed the Satyre's hornes, his

skinne which was swart, and pointed to many particulars ; every man replyed according to his fancie ; but in the end hee concluded they were all deceived ; and seeing they could judge no better, he would keepe his conceit to himself, reiterating his command to conceale this passage from me, but bade him aske me what it meant. I answered, an invention of the painter to shew his arte, which was poeticall, the interpretation was new to me, that had not seen it. Then he called Mr. Terry to give his judgment, who replying, he knew not, the king demanded why hee brought up to him an invention wherein he was ignorant ; at which I interposed that he was a preacher and meddled not with such matters nor had charge of them, only coming in their company, hee was more noted and so named as their conductor.

" This I repeate for instruction to warne the Company and him that shall succed me to be very wary what they send may be subject to no ill interpretation, for in that point this King and people are very pregnant and scrupulous, full of jealousie and trickes ; for that notwithstanding the King conceited himself, yet by the passages I will deliver my opinion of this conceit, which (knowing I had never seen the picture, and my ignorance was guiltless) hee would not press hard upon me. But, I suppose, he understood the moral to be a scorne of Asiatiques whom the naked Satyres represented, and was of the same complexion and not unlike, who being held by Venus a white woman by the nose, it seemed that shee led him captive. Yet he revealed no discontent, but rould them up, and told me he would accept him also as a present. For the saddle and some other small toyes, he would fit me with a gift to his sonne, to whom he would write according to promise, so effectually that I should need no sollicitor in my businesses, with as many complements, excuses, professions and protestations as could come from any very noble, or very base minde in either extreme. Yet he left not, but enquired what meant the figures of the beasts, and whether they were sent me to give him. I had understood they were very ridiculous and ill shaped ordinary creatures, the varnish off, and no beauty other then a lumpe of wood. I was really ashamed, and answered, it was not my fault, those that seized them must beare the affront, but that they were not intended for him but sent to shew the formes of certaine beasts with us. He replied quickly, did you thinke in England that a horse and a bull was strange to me : I replied, I thought not of so meane a matter. The sender was an ordinary man in good will to mee for toyes, and what he thought I knew not ; well said the king, I keepe them, and onely desire you to helpe me to a horse of the greatest size. It is all I will expect, and a male and female of mastiffes, and the tall Irish Grey-hounds, and such other dogges as hunt in your lands, and if you will promise me this, I will give you the word of a King, I will fully recompence you, and grant you all your desires.

" I answered, I would promise to provide them, but could not warrant their lives, and if they died by the way, onely for my discharge, their skinnes and bones should be preserved. Hee gave extraordinary

bowes, layed his hand on his heart, and such kind of gestures as all men will witnesse, he never used to any man, nor such familiarity, nor freedome, nor profession of love. This was all my recompence, that he often desired my content to be merry, that the wrong he had done me, he would royally requite and send me home to my countrey with grace and reward like a gentleman. But seeing nothing returned of what was seized, but words, I desired his Majesty to deliver backe the velvets and silkes, being merchants goods, that they were sent up among mine by his Majesties command, for that by that pretence they escaped the ravine of the Princes officers. So hee gave order to call Master Biddolph to agree with him, and to pay for them to content. Then I delivered a letter I had ready written, contayning my desire for privileges and justice, otherwise I should return as a Fayzneante and disgraced to my soveraigne, and desired some justice for Sulpheckarkans debt lately dead ; he replied he would take such order with his sonne for Surat, as I should have no cause to complaine, and that he should cleere it, for which he gave instant order.

" For other places, hee would give me his commands, and every way shew how much he loved me ; and to the end I might return to my Master with honour, hee would send me a rich and worthy present with his letter of my behaviours, filled with many prayses, and commanded me to name what I thought would be most acceptable. I answered I durst not crave, it was not our custome nor stood with my Masters honour, but whatsoever he sent, I doubted not would be acceptable from so potent a King, and so much loved of my Lord. He replied, that I thought he asked in jest, to please mee, and that he saw I was yet discontent, but hee conjured me to beleieve hee was my friend, and would at conclusion prove so, and vowed by his head hec spake heartily concerning presents, but I must not refuse for his instruction to name somewhat. This earnestness enforced me to say, if his Majesty pleased I thought large Persian carpets would be fittest ; for gifts of cost and value, my Master expected not.

" He answered, he would provide of all sorts and sizes, and adde to them what he thought was fit, that your King may know I respect him. Next having venison of divers sorts before him, he gave me halfe a stagge, with these words, hee killed it himselfe, and the other halfe I should see bestowed on his wives, which was presently cut out in small pieces of foure pounds and sent in by his third sonne, and two women that were called out to divers such inummockes, as if it had been a dole to the poore, and carryed by the Prince bare in his hands. Now I had as much satisfaction, and so abundant grace as might have flattered mee into content, but the injury was above words, though I were glad of these and of colour to dissemble, for hee sent as a conclusion to know if I were pleased, and did not depart discontent. I answered his Majesties favour was sufficient to make mee any amends.

" Then, said he, I have only one question to aske you ; which is, I wonder much, now I have seen your presents two yeares, what was

the reason why your King sent a merchant, a meane man, before you with five times as many, and more curious toyes that contented all, and after to send you his Ambassadour with a commission and his letter mentioning presents, and yet that you brought was little, meane, and inferiour to the other. I acknowledge you an Ambassadour, I have found you a gentleman in your usage, and I am annoyed why you were so slightly set out.

"I would have replyed, but he cut me off, I know it is not the King's fault nor yours, but I will let you see I esteeme you better than they that employed you. At your return, I will send you home with honour, with reward, and according to your qualitie; and not respecting what you brought me, will like a King present your Lord and Master; only this I will require from you, and not expect it from the merchants, to take with you for a patterne of a quiver and case for my bow, a coat to weare, cushion to sleepe on, of my fashion, which was at his head, and a paire of boots which you shall cause to bee embroydered in England, of the richest manner, and I will expect and receive them from you, for I know in your country they can work better then any I have seene; and if you send them mee, I am a King, you shall not lose by it; which I most thankfully undertooke [and he commanded Asaph Chan to send me the patternes.] Then he demanded if I had any grape wine, I could not denie it; he desired a taste next night, and if he liked it he would be bold, if not, he desired me to make merrie with it. So spending this night onely on me, he rose."

Such were the annoyances and troubles the English Ambassador had to encounter, and well might he write to the Company "I must plead against myself that an Ambassador lives not in fit honour here. I would sooner die than be content with the slavery the Persian is content with. A meaner agent would, amongst these proud Moors, better effect your business. My qualitie often for ceremonies either begets you enemies or suffers unworthilie. The King has often demanded an Ambassadour from Spain, but could never obtain one, for two causes, first because they would not give presents unworthy their Kings greatness; next they knew his reception should not answer his qualitie. I have moderated according to my discretion, but with a swollen heart. *Half my charge shall corrupt all to be your slaves.*"

But in following the career of Sir Thomas Roe we have as yet purposely avoided allusion to the other object of this notice, in order not to break the narrative of the Ambassador's proceedings.

Thomas Coryate was born at Odcombe in Somersetshire in the year 1577. His father who was the Rector of Odcombe, was a poet and scholar, and had published several Latin works not without merit. Our hero was educated at Westminster

School, whence he received a presentation to Gloucester Hall, Oxford, and in the beginning of the seventeenth century, having already earned a reputation or rather notoriety for his classical learning and eccentricities, he was appointed to the household of Henry Prince of Wales, in the capacity partly of scholar and partly of Court fool. According to Fuller “Sweetmeats and Coryate made up the last course at all entertainments. Indeed he was the courtiers anvil to try their wits upon ; and sometimes this anvil returned the hammers as hard knocks as it received, his bluntness repaying their abusiveness.” In 1608, he undertook a pedestrian tour in the south of Europe, of which he published an account in 1611, entitled “Coryates Crudities, hastily gobbled up in five month’s travel in France, Savoy, Italy, Rhetia, Helvetia, Germany and the Netherlands.” This was followed immediately by “Coryates Crambe or his Colwort twice sodden.” Both works were undoubtedly crude enough, but they were not without a quaint originality, and considerable display of curious scholarship and truthful observation. Fuller observes regarding the first mentioned work, that “his book nauseous to nice readers for the rawness thereof, is not altogether useless ; though the porch be more worth than the palace, I mean the preface of other men’s mock commanding verses thereon.” This latter remark is in allusion to the work having been prefaced and ushered in by a number of verses in all languages and styles from the pens of the leading wits and authors of the time, who according to “the Revd. Mr. Terry” did themselves much more honor than him whom they undertook to commend in their several encomiasticks.” At any rate they added considerably to the popularity and sale of the work. Amongst his other eccentricities he hung up in the parish church of Odcombe, as a dedicatory offering, the old pair of shoes in which he had performed his European tour, together with a copy of quaint pedantic verses.

His restless spirit and ardent love of notoriety prompted him to be speedily on the move again ; and this time he projected a voyage of much greater length and difficulty, no less than a pedestrian tour in Turkey, Syria, Persia and India to Samarcand, returning by the Oxus through Balkh and Bokhara, back to Persia, and thence through Egypt and Greece homeward. For this extensive travel he allowed himself ten years, which time he fixed in imitation of the period of Odysscus’ wanderings.

In accordance with these plans he set sail from England on the 20th of October 1612, for the Grecian Archipelago, where however he only visited Zante and Scyo ; thence he sailed for Asia Minor, and with a party of compatriots visited the ruins of Troy, and took an active and delighted part in a mock ceremony, got up on the spur of the moment under the influence of the

locality, where he received the accolade of a Trojan Knight, returning thanks for the imaginary honour in an absurd oration replete with out-of-the-way learning, which has been preserved amongst the fragments of his travels and correspondence.

From thence he proceeded to Constantinople, where he remained nearly a year, receiving much kindness and hospitality from Sir Paul Pindar, then Ambassador at the Porte. Here he lost no opportunity of sight-seeing, and was witness to several interesting exhibitions, the details of which he narrates with much quaint humour. Amongst them were a "rigorous and austere kind of discipline" practised by a brotherhood of Franciscan Friars who underwent severe flagellation *by proxy*; a visit to the Dancing Dervishes; a great fire; a flight of locusts; the entry of the Sultan into his capital after a long absence at Adrianople; a visit to several Jewish ceremonies, and the celebration of the Ramzan and feast of Beiram.

On the 21st January 1614, he left Constantinople; and visiting Lesbos or Mytilene, Scyo and Cos, sailed for Scanderoon, whence he proceeded to Aleppo. From thence, accompanied by a countryman, Henry Allard, he started for Damascus, where he remained some days, and then commenced his journey to Jerusalem, which he reached on the 12th April, and was witness to the ceremonies of the Greek Church at that season. From Jerusalem he made several excursions to the places of note and interest in the neighbourhood, including a visit to the river Jordan and the Lake Asphaltes, on the hither side of which, *thouyh he saw it not*, he heard there was "the pillar of Lots wife in salte, with her childe in her armes and a pretty dogge also in salte by her, about a bow shot from the water."

From Jerusalem he returned to Aleppo, where he was compelled to remain three months waiting for a Caravan to Persia, with which he finally departed, and crossing the Euphrates at Bir proceeded via Orfa, which he speaks of as "Ur of the Chaldeans where Abraham was borne, a very delicate and pleasant Cittie," but he regrets that he could "see no part of the ruines of the house where that faithful servant of God was borne." Proceeding thence they crossed the river Tigris at Diarbekir, where poor Coryate was robbed by a Turkish Spahi of all he possessed except the clothes on his back, and a few coins he had prudently concealed about his person. From Diarbekir the Caravan, following the route between the lakes Van and Urrameah, reached Tabriz, regarding which Coryate writes "Ecbatana the sommer seate of Cyrus his Court, a City eftsoone mentioned in the scripture; now called Tauris; more wofull ruines of a City (saving that of Troy and Cyzicum in Natolia) never did my eyes beholde." After a short halt at Tabriz he proceeded via Kasbin to Ispahan. Here

he remained two months studying the Persian language, and waiting for a large Caravan that was about to start for India. The extent of the overland traffic by that route may be estimated for the fact that this Caravan consisted of 6,000 souls with 2,000 camels, 1,500 horses, above 1,000 mules and 800 asses. The route followed was apparently by Yezd, Ghayn, Furrah and Grishk to Kandahar, and thence via Quetta and the Bolan Pass to Shikarpore. In this latter part of his journey he met Sir Robert and Lady Sherley proceeding from India to Persia, who treated him with great kindness, Lady Theresa making him a present of forty shillings, which in the reduced state of his finances was very acceptable, whilst Sir Robert greatly flattered his vanity by showing him a copy of his own work (the Crudities) and promising to bring it to the notice of Shah Abbas, from which circumstance Coryate calculated on some princely benefit when he should return through Persia, that monarch being, as he says, "such a jocund Prince, that he will not be meanly delighted with divers of my facetious heiroglyphicks, if they are truely and genuinely expounded unto him."

From Shikarpore he appears to have proceeded up the right bank of the Indus and crossed probably at or above Mittunkot, whence he continued his journey to Lahore, which he describes as "one of the largest cities in the whole Universe, for it containeth at least sixteene miles in compasse, and exceedeth Constantinople itself in greatnessse."

From Lahore he proceeded by the then famous Badshahi or Royal road to Agra, which occupied him twenty days "through such a delicate and even tract of ground, as I never saw before, and doubt whether the like is to be found within the whole circumference of the habitable world; another thing also in this way being no lesse memorable than the plannesse of the ground, a row of trees on each side of this way, where people doe travel, extending itselfe from the townes-end of Lahore to the townes-end of Agra, the most incomparable shewe of that kind that ever my eyes surveyed." Agra he describes as "a very great citie, and the place where the Mogall did always (saving within these two yeares) keepe his court, but in every respect much inferiour to Lahore."

Ten days journey took him from Agra to Ajmir, where he arrived in 1615, and found ten Englishmen resident at the Padshah's Court, by whom he was hospitably received and entertained, and with whom he remained diligently applying himself to the Urdu and Persian languages. Here his vanity was highly gratified by a proof that his previous history and travels were known and appreciated by his countrymen in this distant part of the

world, which was evinced by the receipt of a copy of humourous, or as Coryate terms them, pretty verses from one Mr. John Browne, a member of the Company's factory at Ahmedabad. As these verses, we believe, represent the first recorded British tribute to the muses in India, they may not be unacceptable.

To the Odcombian Wonder, our laborious countriman, the generous Coryate.

What though thy *Cruder* travels were attended
With bastinadoes, lice, and vile disgraces.
Have not thy glorious acts thereby ascended
Great Brittaines stage, even to Princes places.
 Led on in triumph by the noblest spirits
 That ever deigned to write of anies merits.

If then for that they did advance thy fame,
How will they strive to adde unto thy glory,
When thou to them so wondrously shalt name
Thy weary footsteps, and thy Asian story :
 No doubt more ripe (as nearer to the sunne)
 Then was that first that in the cold begun.

Then rest awhile, and to thy taske again,
Till thou has throughly trod this Asian round,
Which yet so many kingdomes doth containe
As *Deckon*, where the diamond is found ;
 And *Bisnagar*, *Narsinga* ; and if you be
 Not weary yet, in *Zeilan* sake the Rubie.

Then could I wish you saw the *China* nation,
Whose policie and act doth farre exceed,
Our Northern climes ; and here your observation
Would novelists and curious artists feede
 With admiration. Oh, had I now my wishes,
 Sure you should learn to make their *China* dishes.

But by the way forget not *Gugurat*,
The Lady of this mighty King's dominion,
Visite *Baroch*, *Cambaiu* and *Surat*,
And *Amdavar* ; all which in my opinion
 Yield much content, and then more to glad yee,
 Weele have a health to al our friends in *Tudee*.

Then crosse to *Arab*, happiest in division ;
But have a care (at *Mecca* is some danger)
Lest you incurre the pain of circumcision,
Or *Peter-like*, to Christ do seeme a stranger.
 From thence to Egypt, when the famous *Nile*,
 And *Memphis* will detaine your eyes awhile.

This done, at *Alexandria* seeke your passage
For Englands happy shores, when *How* and *Mundy*
Will strive to make your travells out-last age.
So long as stand their annals of our country.
 For Mandevill will come of thee farre short,
 Either of travell, or a large report.

He remained at Ajmir until the arrival, in the end of that year, of Sir Thomas Roe, whom he had known in England and whom he was one of the first to greet, going out as far as Chitore to meet him.

Coryate's eccentricities, his love of sight seeing,—which carried him to every spectacle and ceremony,—his poverty and peculiarities of attire, his temperate habits, and his invariably traveling on foot, had excited the attention of the Shah and his courtiers, who looked upon him as a sort of religious mendicant, and generally spoke of him as the *English Fakir*. The unexpected appearance of such a character, so little calculated to exalt the opinion of English wealth or dignity, was anything but agreeable to Sir Thomas, the more especially as he could not ignore or keep him at a distance, having been well acquainted with him formerly in the Prince of Wales's Household. Moreover, knowing him to be a gentleman by birth and education, a sound scholar, the quondam companion and present correspondent of some of the leading men of letters in England, and above all being acquainted with the simplicity and perfect innocence of his character, it was impossible to receive him save with welcome and kindness, more especially as he was remarkably touchy regarding the least slight to his vanity. These considerations must naturally have guided Sir Thomas' conduct towards him, which appears to have been kind and judicious. He was quartered in the Ambassador's house-hold with his Chaplain, and kept as much in the background as practicable.

This last part of the arrangement was anything but agreeable to one so imbued with the love of notoriety, and accordingly he determined to bring himself to the notice of the Padshah in spite of the Ambassador. Having now sufficiently mastered the Persian language to be able to speak it pretty fluently and correctly, he one day made his appearance at the Royal Durbar, where he immediately attracted the observation of Jehangir, who making enquiries regarding him, Coryate stepped forward, and after due obeisance commenced a prepared harangue in Persian, of which he was so proud that he made several copies of it both in the original and the translation, which he forwarded to England.

These we subjoin for the benefit of Persian scholars or students, as copied from Purchas, with only such corrections in the original as were evidently typographical errors, the natural result of printing in an unknown language, leaving the peculiar spelling unaltered:—

“ Hazaret Aallum pennah salamet, fooker Daruees jehaungeshta hastam ke injah amadam az wellayete door, yanze az mulk Inglizan, ke kessanaion peshem mushacas cardand ke wellayete mazcoor derra-kehs magruba bood, ke mader hamma jazzaaert dunyast. Sahbebbe amadane mari injah boosti char checz ast, arwal be dedanc moabarrek

deedare, hazaret ke seete caramat ba hamma Frankestan reeseed ast ooba tamam mulk Musulmanan. Der sheenedan awsaffe Hazaret daneeda amadam bç deedane astawne akdasmusharaf geshtane. Duum braydeedane feelpay Hazaret kin chunin janooar dar heech mulk ne dedam. Seum bray deedane namwer daryae shumma Ganga ke Serdare hamma daryaha duniast. Chaharum een ast, ke yee fermawne alishaion amayet fermyand, ke betwanam der wellayete Usbeck raftan ba shahre Samarkand bray Zeerat cardan cabbre mobarrecke Saheb crawneah awsaffe jang oo mosachere oo der tamam aalum meshoor ast belk der wellayete Uzbec eencadee meshoor neest chunan che der mule Inglizan ast, dige bishare eshtceac daram be dee dane moobarec masare saheb crawnca bray een saheb, ke awn saman ke fooker der shahr Stambol boodam ye aiaeoh cohua amarat deedam dermean ye cush bawg nasdec shahe mascoor coja ke Padshaw Eezawiaion ke namesh Manuel boode ke Saheb crawnca cush mehmabee aseem carda bood, baad as gristane Sultan Bajasetra as jange ascem ke shudabood nasdee shahre Bursa coanja ke Saheb crawn Sultan Bajasetra der Zenieera tellajo bestand, oo der cafes nahadand cen char chees meera as moolke man jumbaneed ta injia. As mule Room oo Arran peeadha geshta as door der een mule reseedam, ke char hasar pharsang raw darad beshare derd oo mahnet casheedam ke heeh ches der een dunnia een cader mahnet ne casheedast bray deedune moobarrec dedare Hazretet awn roos ke be tacte shaugh in shaughee musharaf fermoodand."

The translation as made by Coryate himself we give verbatim :—

" Lord Protector of the world, all haile to you : I am a poore traveller and worldseer, which am come hither from a farre countrie, namely England, which Ancient Historians thought to have beene situated in the farthest bounds of the West, and which is the Queene of all the Islands in the world. The cause of my coming hither is for four respects. First, to see the blessed face of your Majestie, whose wonderfull fame hath resounded over all Europe and the Mahometan Countries. When I heard of the fame of your Majestie, I hastened hither with speed and travelled very chearfully to see your glorious Court. Secondly to see your Majesties elephants, which kind of beasts I have not scene in any other countrie. Thirdly to see your famous river Ganges which is the Captayne of all the rivers of the world. The fourth is this, to entreate your Majestie that you would vouchsafe to grant me your gracious passe, that I may travelle into the countrey of Tartaria to the Citie of Sumarcand, to visit the blessed Sepulchre of the Lord of the Corners (*this is a title that is given to Tamberlaine in this countrie, in that Persian language; and whereas they call him the Lord of Corners, by that they meane, that he was Lord of the Corners of the world, that is the highest and Supreme Monarch of the Universe*) whose famo by reason of his warres and victories is published over the whole world : perhaps he is not al-

together so famous in his owne Countrey of Tartaria as in England. Moreover, I have a great desire to see the blessed tombe of the Lord of the Corners for this cause, for that when I was at Constantinople, I saw a notable old building in a pleasant garden neare the said citie, where the Christian Emperor that was called Emanuel, made a sumptuous great banquet to the Lord of the Corners, after he had taken Sultan Bajazet, in a great battell that was fought neare the Citie of Brusia, where the Lord of the Corners, bound Sultan Bajazet in fetters of gold, and put him in a cage of yron.

" These foure causes moved me to come out of my native countrey thus farre, having travelled a foote thorow Turkie and Persia, so farre have I traced the world into this countrey that my Pilgrimage hath accomplished three thousand miles, wherein I have susteyned much labour and toyle, the like wherof no mortale men in this world did ever performe, to see the blessed face of your Majestie, since the first day that you were inaugurated in your glorious Monarchal throne."

The Padshah, who appears to have been amused by this unusual address, and interested in the English Dervish or Fakir, entered into discourse with him relative to his past and projected travels, dissuaded him from his attempt to visit Samarcand, pointing out not only the difficulties of the route but the danger to be encountered there from the bigotry of the people. He then presented our traveller with one hundred rupees, which was most acceptable, for as he says in a letter to his mother, " never had I more need of money in my life than at that time, for in truth I had but twenty shillings sterlinc left in my purse."

As may be supposed Sir Thomas Roe was much annoyed when he heard of this proceeding; but for this Coryate was not unprepared. In the same letter to his mother, he says " This humour I carried so secretly by the helpe of my Persian, that neither our English Ambassadour, nor any other of my countrimen (saving one speciall, private, and intrinsicall friend) had the least inckling of it, till I had thoroughly accomplished my designe : for I well knew that our Ambassadour would have stopped and barriadoed all my proceeding therein, if he might have had any notice thereof, as indeed he signified unto me after I had effected my project, alledging this, forsooth, for his reason why he would have hindered me, because it would redound somewhat to the dishonour of our nation, that one of our countreymen should present himselfe in that beggarly and poore fashion to the King out of an insinuating humour to crave money of him. But I answered our Ambassadour in that stout and resolute manner that he was contended to cease nibbling at me." From an Armenian who was resident at the Court, he also received a present of twenty rupees when on a visit at his house, two days'

journey from Ajmir, and from Sir Thomas Roe he received an Asherfie, "a piece of gold of this king's coyne worth foure and tweentie shillings;" this was given him on the occasion of his departure from Ajmir, which took place on the 12th of September 1616, when he started for Agra *en route* to Lahore, Kabul and Samarcand. After remaining a few weeks at Agra he appears to have visited Allahabad or Praag, to witness the annual *melah* or "memorable meeting of the gentle people of this country, called *Banians*, whereof about four hundred thousand people go thither of purpose to bathe and shave themselves in the river, and to sacrifice a world of gold to the same river, partly in stamped money, and partly in massive great lumps and wedges, throwing it into the river for a sacrifice, and doing other strange ceremonies most worthy of observation." From Allahabad, having given up his intention of visiting Samarcand, he returned to the royal Durbar, and joined the Ambassador at Mandu. Here the privations, fatigue and exposure which he had endured began to tell upon a naturally strong constitution. His health gave way, and his spirits also began to flag, a presentiment that he would not live to complete his travels having fastened upon him. This induced him, against Sir Thomas' advice, to hasten to Surat, although suffering from dysentery. He reached Surat in a very delicate state, having endured considerable privation and fatigue on the journey; for notwithstanding his failing health, he still travelled on foot. Here he was induced to indulge in drinking sack, which had the more effect upon him owing to his ordinary temperance. The consequence was that it aggravated his disease, which rapidly gained upon him, and carried him off in the month of December 1617.

Of his Asiatic travels, there is no record except what is to be found in various letters written to his mother, uncle and some of his friends, most of which were republished by Purchas.

At the present time, with all the comparative facilities of travel, such a trip as that made by Coryate would be deemed a remarkable undertaking. But when we consider the period when the journey was accomplished, that it was made wholly on foot, that Coryate started with very scanty funds, that he was twice robbed, and that during the whole trip he appears to have spent only a few pounds, it must be admitted to have been an extraordinary enterprise. He always wore the costume of the country, and was at little trouble or expense on that score. With regard to the expenses of his diet, he writes to his mother from Agra: 'I have above twelve pounds sterling, which according to my manner of living upon the way, at two pence sterling a day, (for with that proportion I can live pretty well, such is the

cheapnesse of all eatable things in Asia, drinkable things costing nothing, for seldom doe I drinke in my pilgrimage any other liquour than pure water,) will maintaine me very competently three years in my travell, with meate, drinke and clothes." It is much to be regretted that he did not survive to publish an account of his travels, for he was far from deficient in observation, although his views were often quaint and eccentric, and he had the great merit of truthfulness. The Rev. Mr. Terry, "long his chamber-fellow and tent-mate," bears testimony to this virtuo, and observes "as he was a very particular, so he was a very faithful relator of things he saw; he ever disclaiming that bold liberty which divers travellers have and do take, by speaking and writing any thing they please of remote parts, where they cannot be contradicted, taking pride in their feigned relations to overspeak things." He must have made good use of his time in the acquisition of the Oriental languages. In a letter written in 1615 from Ajmir, to the Right Honorable Sir Edward Phillips, Master of the Rolls, he says, "Three years and some odd days, I have spent already in this second peregrination, and I hope with as muche profite (unpartially will I speake it of myself without any over-weening opinion to which most men are subject,) both for learning foure languages more than I had when I left my country; viz. Italian, Arabian, Turkish and Persian, and exact viewing of divers of the most remarkable matters of the Universe; together with the accurate description thereof, as most of my countreymen." In a letter to his mother dated from Agra, October 1616, he writes that he had spent a year at Ajmir "to learn the languages of those countries through which I am to pass—viz. these three, Persian, Turkish and Arab, which I have in some competent measure attained unto by my labour and industry at the King's Court; matters as available to me as money in my purse, as being the cheapest or rather only means to get money if I should happen to be destitute, a matter very incidental to a poor foot-man Pilgrim as my selfe in these Heathen and Mahometan countries through which I shall travell."

Of his knowledge of the vernacular, Mr. Terry gives a remarkable and amusing instance, when speaking of "his great mastery of the Indoostan or more vulgar language" he goes on to say "there was a woman, a landress, belonging to my Lord Ambassador's house, who had such a freedom and liberty of speech that she would sometimes scould, brawl, and rail from the sunrising to the sunset; one day he undertook her in her own language, and by eight of the clock in the morning so silenced her that she had not one word more to speak."

His curiosity and love of travel were both intense, and his

enterprise and perseverance kept pace with them. Terry describes him as “a man of a very coveting eye that could never be satisfied with seeing,” and who “took as much content in seeing ‘as many others in the enjoying of great and rare things.’” But stronger than all was the love of notoriety and the “itch of fame,” which stamped every act and object of his life, rendering him insensible to difficulties, hardships and dangers, but keenly alive to the least slight or wound to his vanity. This soreness and greed of praise had long rendered him a butt to the wits of the day, who ministered to his weakness by the most absurd and high-flown mock commendations, which poor Coryate readily and gladly swallowed. Terry notices two instances of his morbid vanity. On one occasion a Mr. Steel, who had recently arrived at Mandu from England, said that in an interview with King James the 1st, when speaking of his own travels, he had mentioned meeting Coryate in Persia, on which the King remarked “is that fool living yet?” This speech greatly annoyed our poor traveller who took it much to heart. The other grievance came from Sir Thomas Roe, who, on Coryate’s departure, gave him a letter of introduction and credit to the new Consul at Aleppo, in which he spoke of Coryate as “a very honest poor wretch,” a phrase which gave dire offence and led to indignant remonstrance, upon which Sir Thomas altered the letter to his satisfaction.

With all these weaknesses there was much that was amiable as well as manly in Coryate’s character, and he deserves a prominent place amongst the Pioneers of British enterprise in the East.

The following Epitaph was written for him by his friend the Rev. Mr. Terry :—

Here lies the Wanderer of his age,
Who living did rejoice,
Not out of need, but choyce,
To make his life a Pilgrimage.

He spent full many pretious daies.
As if he had his being
To waste his life in seeing ?
More thought to spend, to gain him praise.

Some weaknesses appear’d his stains :
Though some seem very wise,
Some yet are otherwise,
Good Gold may be allow’d its grains.

Many the places which he ey’d.
And though he should have been
In all parts yet unseen,
His eye had not been satisfy’d.

To fill it when he found no room,
 By the choyce things he saw
 In Europe and vast Asia,
 Fell blinded in this narrow tombe.

At the period of Coryate's death, Sir Thomas Roe's Indian career had nearly come to a close. He appears to have accompanied the Court of Jehangir about the end of 1617, when that Monarch marched from Mandu to Guzerat, but we have no record of this portion of his travels. Early in the following year he took his final leave of the Durbar, but not until he had obtained the main object of his mission, and was dismissed with honor and presents, Jehangir forwarding a complimentary letter by him to King James.

On arrival at Surat, he found the Governor, who was a nominee of Shah Jehan, disinclined to act up to the spirit of the new treaty, or to pay attention to the Firmauns and other orders of the Padshah; under these circumstances he entered into direct and separate communication with Shah Jehan, who happening at that time to be at variance with, and exceedingly irate against, the Portuguese, was ready and willing to come at once to terms. After some discussion a treaty was concluded, confirming all the benefits to the English granted by the Padshah, together with special privileges in the port of Surat, including the erection of a factory, the free exercise of their religion, the government of their own laws, and the right to wear arms; in return from which they were to assist in the defence of the port.

Finding that the Company's Agents had commenced a regular trade with Persia, and established factories in Ispahan and on the coast, Sir Thomas superintended the negotiations for a treaty of commerce with Shah Abbas, which was obtained on very favorable terms.

He finally left India in the commencement of 1619, and on his voyage home, in the month of May, he met at Saldanha Bay, the Dutch Admiral Hoffman, with whom he had a long conference on the subject of the commercial animosities and jealousies of the English and Dutch in the East, which resulted in both writing to the agents of their respective establishments in India, enjoining mutual peace and good will, as being in accordance with the wishes and orders of the two Home governments, who were sending out a commission to adjust all points in dispute.

With this act Sir Thomas' career in India may be said to have terminated.

His proceedings during the whole period of his long and

difficult embassy appear to have given satisfaction both to the King and the Company at home.

Soon after his arrival in England he was elected a Member of Parliament for the borough of Cirencester in Gloucestershire. In 1621, he was sent as Ambassador to Constantinople, where he remained until 1628, holding the same situation under the Sultans Osman, Mustapha and Amurath 4th, with credit to himself and his country. He was the first English Ambassador who was enabled to establish a real and permanent influence at the Porte, and to command respect on all occasions. He secured for the English merchants several valuable commercial and civil privileges, and also by his influence and generous advocacy was enabled to benefit generally the condition of all members of the Greek Church. He made a valuable collection of Greek and Oriental Manuscripts, which he presented to the Bodleian Library, and he brought over the celebrated Alexandrian copy of the Greek Scriptures, which was presented to King James by Cyril the Greek Patriarch of Constantinople, in gratitude for the benefits obtained through the influence and by the agency of the English Ambassador.

In 1629, he was sent as Ambassador to Gustavus Adolphus, King of Sweden, to whom he recommended the plan, adopted in the following year by that monarch, of making his famous descent upon Germany in defence of the Protestant liberties. In acknowledgement of this counsel, Gustavus Adolphus, after his victory at Leipsic, sent Sir Thomas a present of £2,000, addressing him as his *Strenuum Consultorem*, and acknowledging that he was the first who had advised him to undertake the campaign in Germany. He was subsequently employed in negotiations at Copenhagen and several of the German Courts.

In October 1640, he was elected member for the University of Oxford, and in April 1641, he was sent as Ambassador from King Charles to the Diet of Ratisbon, to endeavour to obtain the restoration of the late King of Bavaria's son to the Palatinate. Here he made so favorable an impression upon the Emperor that he publicly said, "I have met with many gallant persons of many nations, but I scarce ever met with an Ambassador till now," and on another occasion, in allusion to Sir Thomas' persuasive eloquence, he said laughingly "that if he had been one of the fair sex and a beauty, he was sure the engaging conversation of the English Ambassador would have proved too hard for his virtue."

After his return to England he was unavoidably drawn into the struggle then carrying on between his Royal Master and the Parliament, which imbibited his latter days, and is believed to

have accelerated his death, which took place on the 6th November 1644, at Woodford in Essex, where he was buried.

On his return from his last embassy to the Emperor, he was appointed Chancellor of the Garter and a member of the Privy Council, the only recompence he ever received from the monarch whom he served so long, so faithfully, and with such beneficial results to the crown and country. Although on the Royalist side in the great national struggle, he was respected and liked by all parties. He was a man of liberal education, of a refined mind, and sound scholarship. He made an extensive and valuable collection of articles of *vertu*, including a magnificent set of medals, all of which he bequeathed to the public. As a political negotiator he was looked upon as amongst the ablest of his time, and on all questions of commerce he was admitted to have no equal. He made several remarkable speeches on commercial questions in the house, especially on the currency, and he also published several pamphlets and left numerous valuable manuscripts.

In the words of his biographer "there was nothing wanting in him towards the accomplishment of a scholar, gentleman or courtier ; and as he was learned, so he was also a great encourager of learning and learned men. His spirit was generous and public, and his heart faithful to his Prince. He was a great, able and honest statesman ; as good a patriot, and as sound a Christian, as this nation hath had in many ages."

By such a man, it must be admitted, that England was well and worthily represented in her first Indian Embassy.

ART. II.—*Megasthenis Indica. Fragmenta collegit; commentationem et indices addidit E. A. SCHWANBECK; DR. PHIL. Bonnae, MDCCXLVI.*

WE have in this work another of the many instances that the press is daily giving us of German learning, as distinguished from scholarship ; and of the fact that India is better known and understood, or at least is more studied and enquired into, by the Germans, than by ourselves who are its Rulers. Thoroughly practical in mental tendencies, and with a desire to be still more so that the country may be successfully civilised and governed, the English have gone to the opposite extreme, and too much neglected, throughout almost the whole of their past connexion with the country, a *con amore* study of the habits and necessities, and beliefs and languages of its people, with a view to their harmonious government and gradual elevation. While it is well, in the present state of the country, that men who are in places of power and importance should act rather than study, and be manly, common-sense governors instead of apathetic and learned book-worms, it is not well that a stratum of foreign influence should be superinduced on the various layers of native society, ignorant of all their tastes and beliefs, and unable to bend or accommodate Western prejudices and errors to Eastern habits and tendencies. The too great disregard of oriental learning and scholarship among the English in India augurs badly for the permanence or harmony of our future rule. We trust that the day is coming, when it will not be the reproach of our nation in Continental Europe, that, conquer as we may, we cannot bind our conquests to ourselves, and that we fail as statesmen and rulers, from a wilful ignorance of those whom we govern ; that Oriental learning has taken refuge in despair in the dreaming dulness of some German University, where she is wooed by book-worms and not men. It is sad to think that we play the part of the old Roman, receiving our oriental literature and scholarship from Hellenic Teutons ;—knights of the sword, but not of the pen.

Dr. Schwanbeck, feeling that on the one hand almost no part of Greek literature has been so much neglected by the learned as that relating to India, and on the other, that much more information may be extracted from Greek writers as to the early history of India than has hitherto been done, or is generally supposed, sets himself to the task of collecting from all quarters fragments of the work of Megasthenes. From him the most accurate information may be derived, and his work was in fact the source of most of the statements that we find in such approved

writers as Arrian and Curtius. At the same time he considers the whole subject of 'India as known to the Ancients' generally, and estimates, with some degree of critical skill and sagacity, the value of the information conveyed by the writers who have touched upon India in their works. His preface thus begins :—

" Nulla fere pars est litterarum Graecarum, cuius cognitio magis a viris doctis sit neglecta, quam quae pertinet ad descriptionem terrarum gentiumque Graecis ignotarum, quae quo magis erant Graecis alienae, eo minus tempore recentiore sunt pertractatae: cuius rei exempla sat multa reperiet, qui in Graecarum litterarum historiis numerum non exiguum talium scriptorum percensere velit, quorum quidem notitia aut prorsus nulla praebetur, aut certe talis, ex qua certi vel ampli nihil fere redundet."

The work is divided into two parts. The first contains, by way of introduction to a commentary on the 'Indica' of Megasthenes, a treatise on the knowledge of India which the Greeks possessed previous to his time, on the amount of confidence that may be placed in him, and his consequent authority and value, and on those writers who wrote about India after him, coming down so far as to the name of Albertus Magnus. The second part takes up in detail the fragments of the Indica, accompanied in all cases by references to the authors from whom they are taken, and generally headed by titles which at once shew the nature and contents of each fragment. The whole is accompanied by notes, either written by the editor himself, in which he weighs the value of the statements in the text, and compares them with those in other works or the remarks of other critics; or taken from great Oriental scholars, such as Schlegel and Lassen. The book is concluded by three carefully prepared Indicas, the first of writers in whose works fragments of the Indica are found, the second Geographical, and the third an Index Rerum Memorabilium. The work is most creditable to the author, and a valuable addition to the literature of Indian subjects. It is well worthy the attention of the classical scholar, and with reference to the early history of India will be found invaluable.

We do not however propose to tread in Dr. Schwanbeck's footsteps, or go over the same ground that he has taken up. We intend rather to gossip for a little on the classical legends regarding India, and the men from whom the ancients derived their knowledge of it, and in whose works accounts of it are found; leaving the far higher and more critical subject of the value of their statements, the sources whence they were derived, and the light that they throw on the dark obscurity of early Indian

history, for future consideration. If once we have a slight knowlege of these authors and the works that they wrote, we shall have a basis on which to go in considering the more important questions.

What did the ancients think of India? Could we so far "subjectify" ourselves as to enter into the spirit of the old republics, what should we find to be their feelings and beliefs as to this orient of ours? The interest in a distant country is not always proportioned to the knowledge that is abroad concerning it. If the popular mind can get but one tangible fact on which to fasten, a fact fitting into their nature and meeting their selfish wants, then will it form the ground of an instinct of curiosity and desire. The history of the 'India Question' from the days of the traditions as to the ants and gold incorporated by Herodotus in his books, from those of Alexander the Great, whose soldiers returned with most exaggerated accounts, to the present time, has been a most curious one. Based as these traditions were on mendacious reports or total ignorance, India had a fascination for the people of the middle ages, and formed a lure to lead them to the noblest discoveries and the most splendid expeditions. India and its gold were at the bottom of their most extensive plans of discovery and adventure, and no efforts were thought too great, no expenditure too lavish, if it could only be reached. Till a very recent period, even after there were few families in Britain that had not sent forth a member to fight or to write in India, this continued; and only the magnitude of the empire, the immense interests at stake, and the position of the central Asia question in European politics, have at last roused even the most intelligent and interested classes to accuracy of knowledge regarding it.

From the days of Herodotus to the present time India has thus assumed very much the appearance of a myth. Based as men's knowledge was on some few distinct and correct facts, every new expedition, every fresh return of an Asiatic army, added to it until it became to the ancient and mediaeval world very much what the myths of the ancient and mediaeval world are to us—a fairy tale, a creature of the imagination, a dream of a land where monstrous beings, supernaturally endowed philosophers, and miraculous products all existed in endless profusion.

We question much if, previous to the return of Alexander's armies, any knowledge of or interest in India and the adjacent countries had ever penetrated into the Hellenic mind, or reached the mass of the people. Stray travellers or scholars, like Hecataeus, Herodotus and Ctesias, might be found, who picked up a few floating facts regarding it; but the mass must have remained utterly ignorant and indifferent. True, the *demos* of the Greek

republics were men of vast intelligence for their day. They who could sit out whole trilogies of Æschylus and Sophocles from sunrise to sunset, must have been men of no ordinary mental power and acquirements. But the mention of India or the far off lands of the East affected them not at all, and the writers whose traditions regarding it were read at their games and festivals were treated more as poets than historians of the real and the actual. The national mind could be roused when the hated Persian's name was mentioned, and the news flew like wild-fire through the city when the sad fate of the Syracusan expedition was announced, but India was a subject on which the poet might dream and a visionary imagination feed.

The points of contrast and comparison between the Greeks and English are many and striking. Both were essentially practical in their genius, both proud and conceited of the national name and acquirements. John Bullism existed in Greece, and as the son of Hellas trod the streets of Athens or Sparta, or visited foreign lands, he made all to feel that he was a Greek, and that it was something so to be. True he might be defeated, and the iron heel of the Roman might be on his neck, but was he not the descendant of the heroes of Marathon and Salamis? Were not Homer and Pericles, Sophocles and Thucydides his fathers? Did not the Roman bow before him, adopt his customs, copy his literature, and worship the Gods of his fathers? In the Greeks conceit was natural, and it kept them from taking that interest in other countries and developing the spirit of adventure and discovery and colonisation to such an extent as to embrace the comparatively unknown and unvisited. All were barbarous save them; and why should they honour far off barbarous lands by noticing or exploring them?

While on its better side this conceit was a just and noble national pride, on its worse it was based on ignorance. A maritime people, many of them almost living on the sea, their boats gliding and dancing amid the glorious Cyclades, it was seldom that they ventured out far to sea, or exposed themselves to its unknown and dreaded dangers. Their natural timidity had been increased by the nature of their traditions: and as the Greek boy learned the story of Jason and the famed Argonauts, and conned over all the adventures of the heroes who, returning from the Trojan war, were tempest-tossed for years, so far from feeling his spirit roused to emulate their deeds, he shrank from hardships so prolonged and so untried. The Phœnicians too, desirous to keep for themselves that lucrative trade which they carried on with the distant coasts of the Mediterranean, and even of the Atlantic, had added by the terror of their stories to this fear. The Greeks were also ignorant of many of those arts, a

knowledge of which is necessary to successful adventure and discovery. Unacquainted with navigation, they, in early times, knew not how to observe, or to use their eyes. On meeting with new objects they had no standard of comparison ; and, like children, their generalisation was imperfect and their conclusions false. Notwithstanding all that Aristotle had done in later days for the physical sciences, he was but one man, and even his speculations were more a practical application of his Metaphysics, than sound scientific observation and classification. A knowledge of every science was wanting, that is now necessary for the traveller who would be useful and successful. The stars ; the winds ; the phenomena of the atmosphere ; the relative position of places on the earth's surface ; the nature of the soil, its products ; the sea, its influence on temperature, health and national character ; the contents of the earth, metals, stones, &c., all these were overlooked by the Greek traveller. From past ignorance he was credulous, from childish wonder at novelty he was indistinctly or inaccurately impressed, and from a love of the marvellous his history was too often an exaggerated record of what he had actually seen and heard. In early days moreover the Greeks never came actually into contact with India and adjoining countries. They might have heard of the fabled expedition of Semiramis, or that of Darius Hystaspes, reaching only to its confines ; they received the spoils of the East through middlemen, from the traders and caravans who brought the silks and spices by tedious journeys and through almost pathless deserts, or up the Persian Gulf and Euphrates, or through the Indian ocean and up the Red Sea. One of their nation might occasionally have been in the Persian Court, and have mixed freely with men who had visited some of its outports, but it was emphatically a *terra incognita*, round which the imagination of the poet-historian might play, but which the eye of the accurate annalist could never penetrate. In early times the Greeks had thus no historical relations with India at all ; and all their dim dreamy knowledge of the country and its peoples amounted very much to this, that they were a frontier state of their enemy Persia ; that Persia had tried to conquer them, and had succeeded in getting a pretty large revenue from them ; and that should they conquer Persia, India must follow ; that from that direction came some of those luxuries for which their Persian neighbours were notorious, and which the true Greek regarded as effeminate ; from India came those spices that ascended daily to the Gods in the shape of sweet incense ; that India was the boundary of the world on the one side, as the pillars of Hercules and Britain were on the other.

We must expect then to find the knowledge of India possessed by the Ancients in early times, or previous to Megasthenes, to

be very limited and vague. But it was not on that account the less important, for without it the whole of that period of Indian History must, like the preceding ages, be a blank, to be estimated by yugs or ages, the extent of which only the vast imagination of an oriental can conceive. The peculiar value of the information regarding India derived from the Classics is, that by means of them, and them alone, can we introduce order into native accounts, and reduce a monstrous and fabulous Chronology to harmony and intelligibility. It is only at those points where India, in the course of its history, touches upon other nations, that we can hope for faint rays of light, to relieve the mind that has panted through cycles of ages in search of a resting-place. It is only when a historical being like Alexander, with his trustworthy Ptolemy and Aristobulus, steps on the misty scene, that we can find a place for the soles of our feet, and from that stand-point proceed, as best we may, to look about us in the darkness, to catch forms hitherto aërial and mythical, and to bind all by the sure fetters of an accurate Chronology. Often had scholars, with Arrian and his accurate history beside them, striven to identify Porus and Taxiles and Sandracottus as some of the many rajahs and princes who appear in pure Hindu tradition, but in vain. At the close of the last century Comparative Philology and the whole philosophy of 'comparison,' in science, language and history, were unknown. Many a classical scholar had wasted mues of learning; and still the problem, who in Indian history correspond to these three or any of them, remained insoluble.

Sir William Jones appeared on the scene. A thorough classical scholar, he set himself to the study of Sanscrit, and thus equipped himself for irrevocably settling doubts and questions at which the first scholars of Europe had stumbled. In his Sanscrit readings, about the year 1780, he often met with the name Chandra-gupta, Chadrugupta, Chandra Gupta; spelt in all these modes, and not always in exactly the same way in the same author. Similarly in turning to the Greek and Roman Historians, he found a king mentioned under such different names as (*Arrian*) Sandracottus; (*Diodorus Siculus*) Xandrames; (*Quintus Curtius*) Ag-grammes; (*Plutarch*) Androcottus; (*Athenaeus*) Sandrocotpus.

He read in the *Mudra Rakshasa* (since published by Professor Wilson in his "Select Specimens of the Theatre of the Hindus") how a Sudra king called Nanda was reigning at Pataliputra. By one wife he had eight sons, by another of low caste one son—Chandra Gupta. The Brahmans, groaning under the tyranny and insolence of the Sudra king, revolted, murdered the nine Nandas, and raised Chandra Gupta to the throne. In this they had been assisted by a northern prince, who was promised an increase of territory for his aid. But the object having been accomplished,

they refused to implement their bargain, and assassinated their northern ally. His son who succeeded him, Malayaketa, burned with revenge ; and marched against Chandragupta with a large body of Yavanas, supposed to be Greeks, in his army, but returned after a fruitless expedition. Such is the Hindu side of the story ; and it finds its parallel sufficiently complete to be pronounced so, and sufficiently distinct to be viewed as an independent account, in the histories of those later writers who have touched upon the subject of India. From Pliny, Arrian, Athenæus, Strabo, Appian, Plutarch and Justin, the following facts are gathered. In the time of Seleucus Nicator, a king called Sandracottus ruled over the tribes of the Gangaridæ and Prasii, his capital being Palimbothra. The queen, his mother, had put her own husband to death ; and marrying a man of low origin, some say a barber, Sandracottus was born. His connexion with Alexander is most uncertain, but in the troubles that ensued on that monarch's death, Sandracottus extended his power over the territories in the Punjab that he had conquered, and subjugated the Greeks who had been left there. As soon however as Seleucus came into undisturbed possession of that part of Alexander's dominions, or about the year 302 B. C., he undertook an expedition against Sandracottus, and whatever the character of it was, we know that it resulted in a treaty, by which, in return for 500 war elephants, Seleucus gave up all his territory in the Punjab, and a large portion of that in the hills on the other side of the Indus.

A careful comparison of these two stories, the names of the men, Chandra Gupta in Hindu Literature, Sandracuptos in Greek ; of the place ; Pataliputra in the former, Palimbothra in the latter, the position of the parties, the locality of the tribes, the origin of the Hindu prince, the troubles in the kingdom, the expedition of the northern king, the fruitless result of it,—all these point out as clear a case as history can shew. Starting then from this point, that Chandragupta is Sandracottus, and Pataliputra is Palimbothra, we have a clue at once chronological and geographical, by which we can unravel the confusion of pure Hindu history. When we find that events before and after harmonise as much as in any similar case they could be supposed to do, we have as clear a certainty as induction can possibly give, that we are on sure historical ground, and that every new discovery will but add to its certainty, and extend its sphere.

The Classics did this for India ; and if they had accomplished nothing more we might well be grateful to them. But we believe that a careful study of the language and literature of the Hindus by a thorough classical scholar, who is more especially familiar with those Greek and Latin authors that have treated of India, will lead to harmonies and discoveries still more startling than

this, and will do for India, what has in recent times been so largely and successfully done for Egypt and Syria. If Scholars could have hoped to extract from the stony Sphinx of India anything to illustrate Sacred Scripture or cast light upon its statements, then would Indian antiquities and literature have held a very different position among them from what they now do. But though we cannot hope that India, like Egypt and Syria, will ever cast much light on the Bible, is it not an object worthy of the highest ambition of the Biblicalist and the Scholar, to reduce the historical records of this mighty continent to such order, that the approach of the day will be hastened when millions shall be elevated by a knowledge of the truth? Now that the foundations of criticism have been laid anew, that Ethnography and Ethnology have been raised to the rank of independent sciences, that languages are studied with a success and to an extent never known before, and that, above all, comparative Philology is every where recognised as a safe guide to the blind in the greatest difficulties, a revival should take place in Oriental Scholarship, and the old dynasties and seemingly eternal systems of Asia should be brought to light with an accuracy and a vividness such as that which Geology has manifested in disclosing the relics of earlier creations. Sir W. Jones having thus struck upon the clue which was to lead through the labyrinth of Indian History and Chronology, it was not long in being followed up by himself and others. For a time it languished however, notwithstanding the establishment of the Asiatic Society in 1787. But when James Prinsep took it up, he pursued it with energy and skill, till such men as he, Professor Wilson, Dr. Mill and others, encouraged and aided by the scholars of Europe, succeeded in deciphering many old inscriptions and coins, and added immensely at once to the extent and order of India's past. The Malwa Dagoba did for India what the Rosetta stone accomplished for Egypt, and from that day the riddle was read.

This the old Greek Historians have accomplished for India; thus have they restored her to her place in the page of history, and rescued her from the obscurities of the infinite. It may not then be unprofitable nor uninteresting to ask, what were the early Hellenic legends regarding India, who were the chief men that chronicled them, and what were the sources of their information.

The early allusions to India in the Classics consist of nothing more than vague epithets, often used by the poet or the rhetorician to round a sentence or give pith to a figure of speech. In Scripture the name India occurs only in the book of Esther (i. 1, viii. 9) in which we are introduced to the Persian kingdom as it was in the 5th century B. C. Commentators have

supposed, and not without reason, that the travelling Caravan of Ishmaelites, introduced in the history of Joseph, were engaged in the early overland India trade. We cannot however look upon the passage in which they are mentioned as one in which there is a direct allusion to India. In Esther it is spoken of as one of the provinces subject to King Ahasuerus, but introduced more as the boundary of his vast empire, than as an internal part of it. It is very probable that Solomon long before this had some connexion with the countries adjacent to it, but it was a very indirect one, as indirect as that of the court of Rome or Constantinople with the land of the Seres. There can be little doubt that the ships which landed at Eziongaber all sorts of spices, stones and costly stuffs for the use of the temple which was then being built, brought many of them from India. In the second book of Chronicles (ix. 21) it is stated that Solomon's ships went to Tarshish (Tartessus) with the servants of Hiram; and that every three years, or as we prefer to translate it with Michaëlis, every third year, they brought gold and silver, ivory, apes and peacocks. We know that the Phœnicians, with all their adventures and geographical knowledge, were not acquainted with the fact of the existence of India until they became thus allied with the Jews. It was after David had made the Great River and the Great Sea his eastern and western boundaries, and the Red Sea his southern, that the Phœnicians commenced the navigation of the latter, with Eloth and Eziongaber as their ports in the Ælanitic Gulf. In some places the districts which they visited are called Tarshish, in others Ophir, but wherever the former may have been—most Scholars think in Spain—the latter must have lain in the direction of the south of Arabia. Solomon and the Phœnicians supplanted the Edomites in a trade which they must have carried on for a very long time, a trade by which they enriched and fertilised their otherwise rocky and barren land, and made Bozrah and Petra the greatest and most splendid cities of their day,—the former a city glorious even in that desolation predicted by Isaiah (xxxiv. 13.) “Thorns shall come up in her palaces, nettles and brambles in the fortresses thereof.” Every thing shews that the Edomites were the earliest people of antiquity who traded with Ophir. The exact locality of Ophir has excited no little controversy among Scholars, but the conclusion of Heeren seems to be the most sensible, that it is “the general name for the rich countries of the south lying on the African, Arabian and Indian Coasts, as far as at that time known.” The time of return from the voyages made to it “in the third year” may easily be accounted for, by the existence of the periodical monsoons; and the vessels might have returned, as

Michaelis shews, in ‘the third year’ though they had been absent but eighteen months. The articles brought from these places, reaching probably to Ceylon, which some think to be Ophir, or at least to the Malabar Coast, correspond very accurately with those mentioned by Herodotus in the *Thalia* (114) as procured from Ethiopia.

A passage in which many commentators have pretended to find mention of India, or direct allusion to it, is Ezekiel iv. 4—15. In that splendid prophecy against the King of Tyre, the prophet numbers and names the ‘countries from which he derived his rich revenues, and pictures the city under the figure of a great ship, exceeding in magnitude and beauty all that ever were before or since. The prophecy of Isaiah also, in which he represents the glory of Tyre as transferred to Jerusalem, points indistinctly to the vast extent of the commerce of the former, reaching even to India.

Coming further down, to the time when the Romans took a leading part in the politics of Asia, and absorbed its western provinces into their mighty empire, we find it mentioned in the Apocryphal book of the Maccabees. (I. Macc. viii. 8.) as one of the countries taken from Antiochus and given to Eumenes. Critics have attempted to shew that in the passage in Acts ii. 9, in which an enumeration is given, of the various countries and cities whose representatives were in Jerusalem at the feast of Pentecost, India should be read instead of Judæa. Others again have contended for Idumœa, and certainly, so far as readings are concerned, much may be said in favour of both. *Ἰνδαῖαν*, *Ἰνδίαν*, *Ἰδουμαῖαν*. These readings have been conjectured to get rid of the difficulty of a statement that the people of Judæa were present at the feast in their own city. But the catalogue of countries proceeds from the north-east to the west and south, and Judæa lies immediately south from Mesopotamia. There is still greater difficulty in supposing that there were Jews in India, or that Indian Jews were present at the feast, whether we believe that by India is meant merely the Punjab and Afghanistan, or little Thibet and surrounding districts. So far as India and the Bible are concerned, we must look to a later period, to the truth that lies at the basis of the tradition about Thomas and Bartholomew, and to the early efforts made by the Nestorians and the Syrian Church to evangelize a large part of it,—efforts so successful that the Portuguese found on their landing on the west coast a large Christian community. This belongs to another and most interesting period of early Indian history, which has yet to be fully investigated.

The first allusion in purely classical literature to India, or the countries that in ancient times went under that name, is in

Homer. In the first Book of the Odyssey, in the 23rd and 24th lines we have the following :—

Αἰθίοπες, τοι διχθὰ δεδαιαραι, ἐσχατοι ἀνδρῶν,
Οἱ μὲν δυσομενοι 'Υπερίανος, οἱ δ' ἀνιοντος.

This occurs in the opening passage of the poem, where Odysseus is introduced as the man who, of all others, had seen many cities and suffered many griefs. Pitied by all the gods, Poseidon alone was everlastingly angry with him, and had gone to a feast in the land of the Ethiopians. During his absence a council of the gods was held, and the poet takes occasion parenthetically to give an account of the Ethiopians in these lines. They are the most distant of men; they are divided into two parts; some dwell towards the setting of the sun, others towards the rising. It is not impossible that by the eastern Ethiopians the poet dimly alluded to the aborigines of India, who were probably of the same stock as those of Africa, and were at least like them in many particulars, and who inhabited the country previous to the descent and occupation of it by its Aryan invaders, with their Sanscrit speech and Caucasian conformation of face and limb. There can be no doubt that among such early writers on India as Scylax, Hecataeus, Herodotus, and Ctesias, with their vague curiosity and dim knowledge of foreign lands, the term Ethiopians is often used for the aborigines of India. Herodotus (vii. 70) uses the expression 'Αἰθίοπας ἀπ' ἡλίου ἀνατολέων, and says that they were the neighbours of the Indians, but again (iii. 101) he says *το χρῶμα φορέοντι δροῖον πάντες καὶ παραπλήσιον Αἰθίοψι*, in which he clearly distinguishes between the Indians and Ethiopians. In fact, throughout the whole of early geography and history, the Ethiopians and Indians are confounded, articles of Indian produce being referred to as Ethiopian, and *vice versa*. Thus Ctesias speaks of the *martichora*, a fabulous animal with the body of a lion, the face of a man, and the tail of a scorpion, as being a native of India, and translates the word *ἀνθρωποφάγος*—the man-eater. Professor Tychsen, in the Appendix (iv.) to Heeren's 'Asiatic Nations,' connects the word with the Persian *Mard*, man, and *Khorden*, to eat; stating that the Persians still use the expression *mardam-khor* as applied to an intrepid warrior. Pliny, in his description of Ethiopia proper, speaks of the Martichora as being found in it, and cites Ctesias as his authority. So Scylax, in his description of India, speaks of the fabulous nation of the *Sciapodes* as being Ethiopian, while Hecataeus terms them an Indian tribe. Dr. Schwanbeck gives other examples of this continual confusion between the two countries, not the least interesting of which as a philological speculation is this. He says that the habitat of the crocodile

is, according to early writers, now in India, now in Ethiopia; but it must have had its origin in India, as the word is evidently derived from the Sanscrit *Carataca*; and as the Greeks continually changed the letters T and K, we have Κροκόδειλος, as their version or form of it. Every classical scholar knows how Alexander thought that the Nile took its rise in India, and how the products and animals of both countries are continually confounded and mixed.

In Virgil and Horace we meet with many allusions of a very vague and rhetorical character. India and Britain were the two boundaries of the world, and they both continually serve to heighten the statements of these poets. In the Georgics (iii. 27) the former sings the praises of Augustus, and represents himself thus :

In foribus pugnam ex auro solidoque elephanto
Gangaridum faciam, victoisque arma Quirini.

The Gangarides, who dwelt on the plains of Lower Bengal, are here brought in as being conquered by the emperor, though in reality, no arms of any nation had ever penetrated so far. We have the Ganges mentioned Georgics ii. 138, and Aeneid. ix. 31, India as producing ivory, Georgics i. 57, and, at still greater length ii. 116—122, and in a strong hyperbole, Aeneid viii. 705. Horace speaks of Indian ivory, Carm i. 31, 6, of the Indian in common with the Mede and Scythian wondering at the glory of Augustus, Carm. iv. 14. 42., and in the Carmen Saeculare (56) the Indians, *superbi nuper*, figure in the picture that he draws of the golden day about to dawn on the world. Augustus is represented by him as leading in triumph the Seres and the Indi, *subjectos Orientis orae* (Carm. i. 12.56) and again, in his exquisite epistle to Numicius, in which he teaches him *ut admirari*, he says (i., 66.)

Quid censes munera terræ
Quid maris extremos Arabas ditantis et Indos.

But to quote from these and other classical poets such allusions would be an endless task. It is difficult in these days, when colonization and adventure have unrobed the most distant places of their obscurity and mystery, to draw any parallel between the feelings of the ancients towards India, and our own towards any similarly distant place. But they must have been much the same as those experienced by Columbus and the thinking minds of Europe in the 15th century, when led by this one fact that India did exist and was a land of wealth, they dared danger in its most terrible form, and discovered the land of the west. The knowledge and feeling were much the same, but the practical effect how different !

When, led by this vague and semi-romantic feeling, which even yet prevails in the West regarding India, we come really to grapple with the early ages of its history, we find ourselves utterly prostrated by the impossibility of gaining from it any one certified historical fact previous to the Invasion of Darius. Egypt, with its mighty chronologies and vast dynasties, has at last given forth a sound which seems certain, and rings like that of true history ; but India remains like the Sphinx, ever allowing the scholar to solve her mysteries, and unveil her hidden past, and ever destroying those who have attempted it. Egypt has had such scholars as Wilkinson, Bunsen and Lepsius, who have probed her records with untiring zeal and ripe scholarship ; but India has not been behind her in this. We must ascribe the greater success that scholars have met with in reference to that country to the fact of her close connexion with the nations of western antiquity, and the undying remains of her arts that so thickly strew the uplands of the Thebaid and the valley of the Nile. But India has a primary political importance which Egypt can never have. No longer the granary of the world, as she was in the best days of the Roman Empire, the position of the latter is but secondary, as the way to conquest and empire, as the stepping-stone to power, rather than the prize with which the conqueror may rest satisfied. Even the cities of the Mesopotamian Doab have given up their dead, and their riddle is already read. Yet India, with all her increased political importance to the nations of Europe, has remained, in her early days, a sealed book.

The two causes that seem to have operated against the production of truthful records in India, and the possibility of an approach to an accurate knowledge of her early history now, are, first, the fact that such records are soon obliterated by the hand of time, if permanent and outward, as monuments and coins, &c., or are lost amid the tramp of the invader and the pillage of the maurauder, if less durable, as books and manuscripts. Secondly, the genius of the race is against the creation of such records. Thoroughly unpractical, if the natural soul of the South-Aryan race will force itself out in thought and feeling, the result will not be that of history or truthful annals, but of such epics as the Ramayan and the Mahabharat, as vast in their extent as they are gigantic in their fancies and imaginings. Hence it is that the India of the past must be gathered from the India of the present, and that, taking our stand on the immutability of Indian civilisation, we must rest satisfied that what we now see existed in unaltered uniformity thousands of years ago. You cannot do for the early poetry and literature of the Hindu what such men as Niebuhr, Thirlwall and Grote have done for that of the Greek and Roman. You cannot,

while disbelieving that an actual Achilles fought, or a real Romulus reigned, be certain that the facts have a true basis. Were Niebuhr or Grote to apply to the Vedantic Literature or Heroic Epos of India the same Baconian tests that they have done to the history of Rome and Greece, the residuum would be monstrous fable or utter nothingness.

Without striving to attempt this for Indian literature proper, however, it may be done with some success for those portions of it where it comes into contact with the West. Previous to the first purely historical fact—the Invasion of Darius, we have four legends or myths which meet us at the very outset. They are

1.—The legend of Dionysus	B. C. (1,457 ?)
2.—The legend of Semiramis, who is said to have invaded India	1,978
3.—The legend of Ramesses-Sesostris, according to Dr. Hales B. C. 1,308, or according to Lenglet.....	1,618
4.—The legend of Herakles	1,800

The authority that we have for these legends, whom we shall presently take up, is Ctesias, as followed by Diodorus Siculus and Ælian. There can be no doubt as to their untrustworthiness, but at the basis we may find a little truth.

The legend of Dionysus or Bacchus, and his connexion with India under the name of Parashri, is one of the most famous in antiquity, while in its details it is at the same time the most varied. It has ever been a favourite of the poet in both ancient and modern times. The following by Dr. Croly, on an antique gem of Bacchus, we think exquisite. It is headed

THE EDUCATION OF BACCHUS.

“ I had a vision !—’Twas an Indian vale,
Whose sides were all with rosy thickets crowned
That never felt the biting winter gale ;—
And soon was heard a most delicious sound ;
And to its music danced a nymph embrowned
Leading a lion in a silken twine,
That with his yellow mane would sweep the ground,
Then on his rider fawn—a being divine
While on his foaming lips a nymph showered purple wine.”

Born of Zeus and of Semele, the daughter of Cadmus, according to the common story, he was persecuted by the jealous Hera, and his infancy exposed to the most imminent danger. Accompanied by Hermes however he was protected, and when exposed on Mount Nysa in Thrace, was watched over by many nymphs. The Mount Nysa from which he derived his name—Dionysus or Nysa-sprung—is found in many quarters of the ancient world, and there

were few mountains where he was worshipped, to which this name was not applied. This fact is of importance in reference to his connexion with India. When he grew to manhood the jealous Hera still afflicted him, until being thrown into a state of madness, he wandered all over the East, through Egypt, where King Proteus received him, through Syria, where he slew Damascus, over the Euphrates and Tigris, where a heaven-sprung tiger assisted him, and at last, reaching India, he spent, some traditions say three, others fifty-two years in subduing its fierce tribes, and teaching them cultivation, the pleasures of the grape, and the arts of civilisation. Up to the point of his visiting the East, the general statement is borne out by all traditions, but after that they vary. Euripides in his *Bacchae* represents the god as speaking of Bactria as the farthest limit of his travels. He says—

Leaving the Lydians' gold-abounding fields,
The Phrygians' and the Persians' sun-struck plains,
The *Bactrian* walls, and Medians' rugged land,
I came to Araby the blessed, and all
The coast of Asia, where it stretches out
Along the briny sea, where many Greeks
Mixed with barbarians dwell in fair-towered towns—
At length arrived in Greece, I here am come,
That by my dances and my solemn rites
I may assert my high Divinity, &c.

From that point, through the accounts of Pausanias, Plutarch and Diodorus Siculus, the limit is extended, until he is made to conquer all Asia and India in their widest sense, and to return in triumph as only such a god can triumph.

Arrian in his *Anabasis* introduces him at the city of Nysa on the banks of the Cophen, near the modern Cabul, which surrendered to Alexander the Great. Wearyed with the series of campaigns through which they had passed, and the deserts which they had crossed, the historian, always accurate, trustworthy and common-sense, following Ptolemy and Aristobulus, represents the troops of Alexander as delighted at seeing the ivy and laurel there. Abandoning themselves to the riotous pleasures of the Dionysia, the army then *Bacchanted*, (if we may use the expression) for some days, hymning paeans of praise to the god, the limits of whose conquests they had reached, the extent of which their leader Alexander, a second, yea, a greater than Dionysus, would overpass.

“ And brighter still the glory grew ;
The wine-god drops his sparkling chalice :
Each wild Bacchante's eyes dropt dew,
As sweet as flowers by Lydian Halys.

All bow before
Such tones of power
As ne'er Tyrrhenian trumpet blew,
Nor yet were woke when Indian valleys
Heard the Panic Eillelen."

Near to the city was Mount Meros, the modern Meru, so called in allusion to the legend of the god having sprung from the *thigh* of father Zeus.

There can be little doubt but that all these adventures and names were created by the army themselves, and, as too often in later days, willingly acquiesced in and coloured by the people of the district. Thirlwall, in his History of Greece, has at this passage of it an interesting note on the subject. Quoting Bohlen's "Indien," he conjectures that the range of Parapanisus was properly Parapanisus, or *above Nisa*. It is remarkable that the sun has the name of *Suradevas*, the wine-god, and is born of *Nis*, night. Ritter in his "Asien" prefers the derivation *Paro vami*, the mountain city. The origin of the story may be seen still farther from the fact, that nothing is so common as the grape in these districts, even in modern times, as every denizen of Calcutta knows. The fact then of meeting with the sunny grape of their fatherland in this far off region, a resemblance between the native names of the districts round about, and those belonging to Greece, a rumour already existing that Bacchus had conquered a large part of the East, the desire of the soldiers to praise their general and themselves, and of Alexander to gratify his own ambition as having done more than a god, and to induce his war-worn soldiers to attempt new conquests—all these may have combined with other causes to give rise to this part of the legend of Dionysus.

As the basis of it we have little more than this, that it represents the early longing and dim aspirations towards the East, as well as the obscure ideas entertained of it in antiquity. Dionysus is the personification of a power of nature, life-giving, joyous and ethereal. It is his spirit that fills the soul, when it is carried away from the sober and routine realities of daily life, and elevated into a region of joy and unconsciousness. It is at this point that the god becomes the patron of the tragic art, that was first based on the lyric, the chief law of which is unconsciousness. This careless joyousness was pre-eminently the character of the Greek, and hence, not in the vulgar sense of the god of drinking, but in the far higher one of the inspirer of freedom from care and joyous life, no divinity was so popular as he, no games so well attended as his. To the East, in its wide and

general extent, the Greeks looked, as the abode of such ; and hence the popular myth represents the god as overcoming it, and returning from it in gay and festive triumph, and spreading joy by means of the vine on every side. Hence the poet addresses him :—

“ Where art thou Conqueror ? before whom fell
The jewelled kings of Ind, when the strong swell
Of thy great multitudes came on them, and
Thou hadst thy thyrsus in thy red right hand,
Shaking it over them, till every soul
Grew faint as with wild lightning.”

We question if any actual hero or real personage can be looked upon as the basis of the legend. Beyond this then, the story of Dionysus tells us nothing of India,—that part of it seeming rather to be an accretion to the general and original germ, though from it later writers developed the whole.

The legend of Semiramis is almost as much overshadowed by the mythological and supernatural as that of Dionysus. Its origin is to be found in Ctesias, as rendered by Diodorus, but that early writer's statements on Assyrian history are untrustworthy. The whole of the early history of both Babylon and Assyria is, except when touched upon by the Old Testament, purely mythical. The Mosaic account makes Assyria but a colony of Babylon, while Ctesias reverses the order, and represents the former, as it always was represented in Greek History, as by far the greatest empire of antiquity. The legend states that Ninus founded the Assyrian Empire, and built Nineveh. Sprung of a Syrian youth and Derceto the fish-goddess of Ascalon, she was in her origin immortal. Her whole early life was one of special preservation by the gods, seeing that from shame her mother exposed her in the neighbouring hills. Fed by doves, she was adopted by a shepherd, Simmas, who bestowed on her the name by which she is generally known. One of the King's generals married her, and while the Assyrians were engaged in the seige of Bactra she was in the army with her husband. When the efforts of Ninus had failed to take the city, she herself, with consummate courage and ability, approached the walls with a band of followers, leapt up upon them, and soon obtained possession of the town. The Amazonian character which she now gains, she preserves throughout the rest of the story. From gratitude Ninus raised her to be his Queen, and on his death she succeeded to the throne of Assyria. She inaugurated her reign by building all over the surrounding district immense works which were the wonder of antiquity ; and in the desire to account for which, probably, the main features of the legend arose. Beginning then her career of

conquest, she subdued Egypt, overran Ethiopia, and subjugating all Asia, fund her Empire limited, to the south, only by India. Diodorus lingers in evident wonder over the gigantic preparations that she made to conquer it, and over the terrible defeat with which she met. From his record however we have little information as to the character of Indian states, or of their products, customs, laws and government. Retiring vanquished, she continued to reign till, after forty-two years, she appointed her son Ninyas as her successor, and evanished upward in the form of a dove.

Throughout the whole of this, the vast and supernatural continually meet us, and we can treat it as nothing more than one of those Myths, that, in Assyria as everywhere else, cluster round the foundation of an infant state, giving to it the lustre of poetry and the dim grey hoar of age. From the extent of the early Assyrian and Babylonian empires, there can be little doubt that they touched upon the countries generally known as India, and that contests may have often taken place on the frontier, nay even a vast expedition may have been planned and carried out. But beyond this we cannot go, and some better authority than Ctesias must be found for the historical truth of the legend of Semiramis, the goddess of the dove, the Asiatic Aphrodite.

The legend of Rameses-Sesostris seems to have in it more of a historical appearance; but even here there is doubt and uncertainty. The researches of recent scholars have shewn, with some degree of probability, that Rameses ii., or the Great, and Sesostris are the same personage. He was the third King of the nineteenth dynasty, and a full account of his expeditions and conquests is given us by Herodotus and Diodorus. From the extent of his public works, and the whole character of his home government, not a few authors have held him to be the Pharaoh of Scripture. Be that as it may, we have sufficient historical ground for believing in the existence of some such great conqueror as Sesostris is represented to have been, from the numerous *stelae* which he everywhere erected as the memorials of his deeds, and many of which existed to a late period in the history of antiquity. Herodotus tells us of two that he himself saw in Syria, and in recent times one of these has been discovered, on the road to Berytus, with a half-defaced inscription, in which however the name Rameses may yet be traced. Another, though all are not agreed that it was one of the *stelae* of Sesostris, has been discovered near Nymphæum. According to the account of Diodorus, his father caused all the boys who were born on the same day to be trained along with him, that in future they might be his most able assistants and advisers. Their first

expedition was into Arabia, and afterwards into the west of Africa. When on the throne he first directed his attention to the internal government of the country, dividing all Egypt into thirty-six provinces, with a governor at the head of each. Having made immense preparations both by sea and land, he subdued Ethiopia, and crossing over to Asia, he overran the whole continent. India in its widest extent to the east, if not to the south, was included in his conquests, so that he swept the whole Gangetic valley, and reached a spot where conqueror had never been before—the coast of the Sinus Gangeticus. Returning northward he subjugated the Scythians, left a colony in Colchis, long afterwards noted for its Egyptian manners, and was only stopped in Thrace by the scarcity of provisions. Thus the Danube was his boundary on the north-west, the Ganges on the south-east, and there were few countries where there was not a *stela* with this proud, and in his case by no means boastful, inscription :—“Sesostris, king of kings and lord of lords, subdued this country by the power of his arms.” Returning to Egypt he adorned his land with the spoils of vanquished nations, and the graces of art and architecture, till becoming blind in his old age, he committed suicide, and died with the character of being the greatest conqueror of his own or any age. While from the existence of these *stelae*, and the testimony of such authors as Manetho and Herodotus in early days, and Tacitus in later, there can be little doubt as to the truth of the general outlines of this career of conquest, we have no details as to India, and no evidence as to the statements regarding it being anything more than a wide and sweeping assertion. It is said that Danaus, who colonized the Peloponnesus, was his brother, and being discovered in a conspiracy which had for its object to murder him on his return from his conquests, was obliged to take refuge in flight.

The last of the legends with which we have to do is that of Herakles ; and this is as brief as it is historically unsatisfactory. Of all heroes, he is the most universal, and there are few countries and few literatures in which we do not find a trace of him. He is the cosmopolite of heroes, and hence it is by no means wonderful that he should be represented in India. He performs the same part in the early settlement and civilisation of tribes in antiquity, as Brutus does in those of the dark ages. His footsteps are everywhere, until he seems by universal consent to have been looked on as the incarnation of those who must carry out the primary processes of civilization, such as clearing the woods and jungle, subduing wild beasts, and destroying all that is inimical to the existence of man, as well as to his safety and comfort. He is not therefore in all his deeds and characteristics one being, but the representative

hero of antiquity. Pliny in his ‘Natural History,’ gives to him in his Indian form, the name of *Δορσάνης*. Arrian in his ‘Indica’ alludes to him, and the Greeks believed, in this case as in so many others, that there was a correspondence between the mythologies of their own land and those of India, and that in him they recognised their own Herakles. In India, he is said to have married Pandæa, and to have become the founder of a long dynasty of kings. The great war between the Kooroos and Pandoos, and the battle fought on the plains of Koorookshetra were taken part in by him. He, along with Krishna, Judisthir and his four brothers, was the hero of those glorious exploits which form the chief subject of the Mahabharat. Throughout the whole of the legend regarding this we find continual references to countries beyond the Indus and Himalayas, and traces of customs which are new to the Hindus and evidently of Scythian origin. The whole of the lunar race of kings was of Scythian origin, and Bhuddistic in their belief. Certain it is that the Greek army of Alexander continually recurred to him as well as to Dionysus, and that in the dreadful struggle at the rock Aornus, so graphically and fancifully related by Curtius, Alexander rejoiced that he had reduced a stronghold which Herakles himself had not been able to take. When Alexander had reached the Hyphasis and his soldiers refused to advance further, the conqueror, foiled in his ambition, was forced to return; and as he dropped down the river, amid mighty sacrifices and sacred libations, he invoked Herakles to assist him and favour the remainder of his enterprise. When he reached that point at which the Hydaspes falls into the Accsines, he encountered a tribe who from their name seem to have been followers of Shiba, and from the use of clubs and the sacred mark in their faces were thought by the Greeks to be the descendants of Herakles. Curtius thus speaks of them. (IX. 14.) “Hinc decurrit in fines Siborum. Hi de exercitu Herculis majores suos esse memorant; aegros relictos esse, cepisse sedem, quam ipsi obtinebant. Pelles ferarum pro veste, clavae tela erant; multaque, etiam cum Graeci mores exolevissent, stirpis ostendebant vestigia.” And when, having overcome this tribe, they entered the country of the Oxydracæ and Malli, and saw new dangers before them, Alexander encouraged them by saying that they should pass the limits of the conquests of Father Bacchus and Herakles, and their retreat from India should seem to be not a flight but a triumph. “Herculis et Liberi Patris terminos transituros, illos regi suo, parvo impendio, immortalitatem famæ datus. Paterentur se ex India redire, non fugere.” (IX. 16.) Herakles appears in the Hindu Pantheon as Bulurama or Buludeva, who founded the famous city of Patuliputra, and the dynasty that there afterwards rose to such

eminence. He is said to have also founded Muhavelipúr in the Carnatic and Balipúr in Beder.

Such are the four legends in which India seems to be connected with the West, but which yet give us almost no intelligible or valuable information regarding it. If we adopt the theory of most modern Ethnologists and students of Comparative Philology, that the Indi and Pelasgi are but the southern and northern branches of the same Indo-European stock, which sprang from the plains of Iran and constitute the great Aryan race, then we have a sure basis on which to rest the common origin of these traditions. However different the characteristics and civilisation of these two races may now be, in early days, when both were progressing in the race of refinement, they seem to have very much resembled each other.

The great difference arose thus ; when the southern race reached a certain platform of civilisation it ceased, its social organisation became stereotyped, and its beliefs immutable, so that all was conservative and as it were fossilized ; while the northern, in more favourable climatic circumstances and in closer contact with the first depositaries of knowledge—the Semitic race, went on from one degree of polish to another ; empire succeeding empire and literature literature, till the salt of Christianity was introduced, and new triumphs were achieved. The progress of the race now seems capable of indefinite extension, while the highly civilized South-Aryans seem to be but savages. If there is any truth at the bottom of this theory, as we believe that there is, then we have at once a reason for these legends. They are the product of minds strongly resembling and having an affinity for each other, and springing from a common source, they have a common character.

We now come to firm historical ground—the expedition of Scylax, and the consequent Invasion of India by Darius Hystaspes, (B. C. 508.) This introduces us to the conclusion of our subject,—a short account of the principal authors from whom the ancients drew their knowledge of India. We cannot give the slightest credit to the statement that Cyrus the Great invaded India and met with a repulse. The whole details of the life of that prince are involved in obscurity and romance. Darius was a king in every way fitted to consolidate that empire which the genius of Cyrus had founded, and the ambition of Cambyses had extended. Having fitted himself for government by careful training in the court of Cyrus and the camp of Cambyses, and under the eye of his father Hystaspes who was satrap of Persis, he was ready to seize the throne as soon as there should be an opportunity. Quelling a revolt of the Babylonians in 513 B. C., he undertook his great expedition against the

Seythians, who even then began to threaten the peace of the southern provinces. Desirous to extend the limits of his empire also to the south, he fitted out an expedition under Scylax, a Greek of Caryanda in Caria, with whom he associated other men of ability and adventure. This started from the city of Caspatyrus and the country of Pactyice, and sailing down the Indus to the sea and keeping to the westward, they passed through the straits of Babelmandeb, up the Red Sea, and seem to have ended their voyage at a place near the modern Suez. This was not the first great voyage of adventure and discovery. Herodotus in the *Melpomene* (42) tells us that Neco of Egypt, having finished the digging of the canal though the Isthmus of Suez, sent certain Phoenicians in ships to circumnavigate Libya. Setting out from the Red Sea, they sailed through the southern ocean. Every autumn they landed and sowed the coast with corn, waiting for harvest. Having reaped it, they put to sea again. Thus having spent two years, in the third they doubled the pillars of Herakles and arrived in Egypt, relating things, which Herodotus naively remarks, "do not seem to me credible, but may to others, that as they sailed round Libya, they had the sun on their right hand." An attempt was afterwards made to circumnavigate Libya by one Sataspes, of the Achaemenidae or royal family of Persia, but unsuccessfully.

Having received the report of Scylax and his co-adjutors, Darius prepared a vast expedition against India, and entering it seems to have rendered the whole of the Modern Punjab and Sind tributary to himself. All that Herodotus says is, that Darius subdued the Indians and frequer'ted this sea. But in the list of the thirty Satrapies that composed the Persian empire, he afterwards mentions India as paying tribute to the value of 600 talents of gold, or as Major Rennell more probably conjectures, of 360, a sum four and a half times as much as the revenue yielded by the rich provinces of Babylon and Assyria, and equal to about £500,000.

Scylax then meets us as the first author who has pretended to give a historical or descriptive account of India. The question has however been much agitated by critics, as to whether this Scylax really did write or was only a discoverer. Niebuhr distinctly inclines to the opinion that there was a second Scylax who lived in the reign of Philip of Macedon, about 350 B. C. and who wrote a *Periplus*. The matter is settled by Niebuhr on internal evidence, while other critics hold that the author of the *Periplus* is the navigator of Darius. We know that Scylax of Caryanda was specially sent to report on the state of the southern seas and coasts ere Darius should commence his expedition, and whether the report given in by him is extant or not, it

must have been in the time of subsequent writers on India, who have drawn from it most of the statements current regarding that country till the time of Megasthenes. Dr. Schwanbeck has the following passage on the subject :—

“ Scylacem de hoc itinere librum conscripsisse, ex eo appareat, quod complures eius loci afferuntur, et quod a Stephano Byzant. (s. v. Καρνανδα) Σκύλαξ παλαιὸς λογογράφος, a Strabone (p. 658.) Σκύλαξ παλαιὸς συγγραφεὺς commemoratur, quamquam alio loco (p. 583.) periplum quoque eum, qui superest, Strabo non recte ei attribuit. Intelligimus autem ex illis locis, Scylacem praeter Indum, Casparyrum et Pactycam terram plura de fabulosis Indiae gentibus dixisse, ex quibus apud Philostratum memorantur, Σκιάποδες, Μακροκέφαλοι, apud Tzetzam Σκιάποδες, Ωτόλικνοι, Μονόφθαλμοι, Ἐνωτοκοῖται vel ‘Ενοτικτοῖται.”

By whomsoever the Periplus may have been written, it seems, as it appears in the “ Geographi Græci Minores ” of Hudson, to have come down to us in the form of an abridgement. Previous to Scylax, whose date is generally fixed at about 508 B. C., Anaximander the Milesian was the only great geographer (B. C. 608.) He is said by Diogenes Laertius not only to have first invented or introduced the use of the Gnomon into Greece, but to have first constructed maps. We have no evidence as to this, beyond the statement of Diogenes, and none as to whether, if he really did construct maps, he was aware of the existence or locality of India. He was more of a philosopher than of a geographer, and as the disciple and pupil of Thales, holds an important place in the history of the Ionian School.

The report given in by Scylax to Darius Hystaspes, and the early traditions previously afloat regarding India, seem to have been the sources of the Indian knowledge of the next writer on this subject—Hecataeus the Milesian. He was at once a logographer or annalist and geographer. Born B. C. 550, he was in the prime of life about the outbreak of the Persian war, against the revolts that led to which, he with wise prudence dissuaded his countrymen. Although his advice was rejected both at the beginning and throughout the whole conduct of the war in Ionia, he yet did his utmost to mitigate its severity and bring it to a favourable conclusion. A man thus of action, and also a man of wealth, he was well fitted to be a successful and an accurate historian. His two great works are his geographical treatise *Periegesis*, and his historical *Genealogia*. He stands before us as one of the greatest writers of early antiquity, whose accuracy and style have been alike praised by subsequent authors, and from whom Herodotus drew much of his information, while at the same time he controverts many of

his statements. Had his works come down to us, he rather than his rival might have been viewed as the Father of History. He was much more of a critical historian than Herodotus, while his accuracy is seen in the particular attention that he pays to the distance of places from each other. His Periegesis was divided into two parts,—the one confining itself to Europe, the other, in which he treats of India, takes up Asia, Egypt and Libya. He must not be confounded with Hecataeus of Abdera, who accompanied Alexander the Great on a part of his expedition, and also wrote a work on Egypt. The writings of the Milesian Hecataeus have unfortunately come down to us only in fragments. Contemporary with this author was Dionysius of Miletus, whose great work was a History of Darius Hydaspes, in which he probably introduced India. Other works are ascribed to him, but without sufficient reason.

As Hecataeus follows Seylax in his statements regarding India, so Herodotus seems to have followed Hecataeus. Modern critics do not however go the length of Porphyry, who asserts that Herodotus took whole passages from the Periegesis only slightly altering the language. Hecataeus is mentioned by Herodotus only four times throughout his History under the name of *λογοποιός*, a name which Arrian applies to both. Herodotus followed Hecataeus more as a guide than a leader, more as one whose recent statements he could compare with the information that he himself procured, and perhaps occasionally supplement. Moreover every reader of the old Father of History is aware how often he speaks of himself as an eye-witness of the wonders that he describes,—a thing in many cases not impossible; so that we must either generally admit the originality of his work, or at once take from him all pretensions to honesty and credibility. After the attention given to Herodotus and his statements regarding India in a previous number of the *Review*,* it will be unnecessary to enter fully into the subject now. Born in the Doric colony of Halicarnassus in Caria B. C. 484, he grew up as a boy near to the scenes of the Persian war, and lived on through that century till the beginning of the Peloponnesian struggle. The statements regarding his travels, and the places at which he wrote his History, are most contradictory, and need not delay us here. The account of Pliny is perhaps that with which we should rest satisfied, that he wrote his work in his old age at Thurii, whither he had retired after the first colonists, and where he died.

While the main object of his work is to give an account of the war between the Greek and Persians, he has collected in it the

* Vol. XXVI. p. 24.

fruits of his reading, which seems to have been co-extensive with the literature of his country as it then was, and the results of his large personal experience. While there can be no doubt that the part of his work on Egypt is the most full and extensive of all, and that his statements regarding far distant countries, such as Scythia and India, are to be the less credited in proportion to their distance, yet even in reference to the latter, succeeding writers and discoverers have shewn a wonderful accuracy in outline, if not in detail. He himself does not seem to have visited any place in the interior of Asia more distant than Susa. The information that he gives regarding frontier countries is introduced as a digression from the main object of his history. His account of Persia leads him to India as one of its Satrapies, and the history of Darius Hystaspes to Scythia, against which he made his great expedition. The facts that he gives us regarding these must have been derived from purely Persian sources, in addition to his predecessors Scylax and Hecataeus.

Contemporary with Herodotus, but working probably independently of him, we have three historians, who in their works seem to have treated more or less of India. Hellanicus of Lesbos is the most eminent of them. His times embrace almost the whole of the 5th century B. C. We know little of him, and that little as given by Suidas is very confused. His life seems, like that of contemporary logographers, to have been spent chiefly in writing and travelling. His works are very numerous, but the only one with which we have to do is his "Persica." It exists now in a few fragments, but originally contained the history of Persia, Media and Assyria, from the mythical times of Ninus to the age of the writer. Of the three divisions of his works given by Preller, the genealogical, chorographical, and chronological, it comes under the chorographical. As a historian he enters more into detail than Herodotus, and Thucydides says that his chronology is far from accurate. He seems to have been more of a compiler than a historian. Damastes of Sigeum is the second of this group, whose works in their entirety are lost to us, and who is known rather as the authority and source of the information of later writers. His History of Greece, and Catalogue of Nations and Towns, were his two principal works, but it is his "Periplus" that gives him a place in our list of classical authors who have written about India. In this work he is said to have chiefly followed Hecataeus. Eratosthenes the great mathematician, geographer and critic of Alexandria in the time of the Ptolemies (200 B. C.) follows him in some of his works, and is censured by Strabo for so doing. Charon of Lampsacus completes this group of early logographers. His exact age is very doubtful; some critics putting him before Herodotus. He

flourished B. C. 464. Amid many other works he wrote the 'Ethiopica' and 'Persica,' in both of which he seems to have treated of India, probably repeating what former writers had stated.

We pass from these men, who are to us mere shadows, and exist only in the fragmentary quotations of later writers, to Ctesias, who has ever formed an object of interest and discussion to the historian and the critic. Born at Cnidus in Caria, he was trained to the profession of medicine, in that, the most famous medical school of early antiquity. He bridges the distance between Herodotus and Xenophon, and may be said to have been the contemporary of both. He became physician to the Persian King Artaxerxes Mnemon, even as his countrymen Democedes and Hippocrates had been before him. Xenophon in his 'Anabasis' tells us that he was present during the war between the king and his brother Cyrus. He continued at the Persian Court for seventeen years, but finally returned to his native Cnidus, where he systematized and arranged the information that he had been heaping up in Persia, and wrote out his works. We cannot expect from Ctesias anything more than a view of history and of the past such as the Persians themselves had, and their ancient annals contained. His post as private physician to the Emperor—one of great responsibility, activity and confidence, seems to have opened to him sources of information never before accessible to any Greek historian.

There is no reason to doubt his trust-worthiness in the use of these records, and of the information that he had personally obtained; but we must doubt the correctness of the records themselves. They were Persian, they gave an account of Persia and her frontier and subject countries as painted by the Persians themselves. With the mendacity peculiar to Orientals, with the high-flown rhetoric and bombast which are no less their characteristics, with the natural tendency to exalt themselves at the expense of all other nations, we cannot expect to find in these accounts of Ctesias a fair, and in all respects historical, account of the subjects on which they treat. Hence it is that the early Assyrian history seems to be purely mythical. The chief works of Ctesias are his 'Persica' and his 'Indica,' both thus viewed from a Persian stand-point. His object in writing the former was to give to the Greeks—what he believed the work of Herodotus was far from giving them, an accurate knowledge of the Persians. Hence between the two the truth may possibly be found. In his account of India, he seems to have largely followed Scylax, and may have read in the Persian Archives the original report drawn up by him for Darius Hystaspes. The work exists only in the very wretched epitome of Photius, and

the part of it that he has preserved is the most fabulous. Yet a subsequent knowledge of the north-western parts of India has served to shew that the statements of Ctesias, as well as those of his predecessors, are by no means without a foundation of truth.

The period between Ctesias and the invasion of India by Alexander the Great, which opened up new sources of information, is filled up by two historians of whom we know little more than the names—Ephorus of Cumæ and Eudoxus of Cnidus. The former is the first who made an attempt at writing a Universal History, beginning with the return of the Heraclidae, and continuing till the year 341 B. C. It contained thirty books in all. He flourished in the times of Philip of Macedon, and was a most successful pupil of the orator Isocrates. His work contained an account of the barbarian nations and included India. It was finished by his son Demophilus, and continued still further by Diyllus. He is looked upon by later writers, as Polybius and Strabo, as a clear and accurate historian; though many charged him with wilful inaccuracies in the places where he differed from preceding authorities. Eudoxus of Cnidus is better known as a philosopher and geometer than as a geographer, as the pupil of Plato and afterwards his enemy, than as an adventurous traveller. He lived about B. C. 366. His observatory at Cnidus was a famous one, and he is said to have invented and constructed many astronomical instruments. The work in which he seems to have mentioned India, and of which Strabo speaks, is his *Γῆς Περιόδος*, though some think that this was written by a different Eudoxus.

The next great historical event, in which India and the West come into contact after the invasion of Darius Hystaspes, is the expedition of Alexander the Great. Undertaking it, not merely because its north-western districts were embraced in the Empire of Darius, but because it presented a new world to him worthy of his conquest, he furnishes us with one of the grandest pictures in the history of antiquity. Wearyed with previous campaigning, covered with wounds and the toil of war, when the general and his soldiers entered upon its fertile plains, they seemed to renew their youth and their strength. Alexander's intention was not merely to subdue what had formerly been subject to Darius, and, like Nadir Shah in succeeding times, appear like some terrible meteor for a time and then vanish away: he seems to have formed a regular scheme of conquest, and to have set his heart on not merely equalling, but surpassing all the fabled deeds of father Dionysus, all the exploits of Semiramis and Sesostris, all the wonders of his ancestor Herakles. Even when his eager ambition received a check on the banks of the Hyphasis, when his soldiers refused to advance further and

overcome the Prasii and Gangaridae,—of whose power and splendour the young Chundra Gupta, who seems to have visited his camp, had told him—even when he reluctantly turned his steps to the West, and looked towards home, he but settled on new schemes yet to be accomplished. His reason for accompanying Nearchus down the Indus, and fitting out the great maritime expedition which that admiral successfully conducted up the Persian Gulf, was that thus he might have information, and a new world for future conquests and future commerce. When, after his terrible march through the burning deserts of Gedrosia and the jungles of the Doab, he was seized with fever and was dying at Babylon, his design was clear—to get rid of his Macedonian veterans who had opposed his ambitious wishes, and by a mixed army of disciplined Persians under Greek officers,—like our British Sepoy-army now—and new recruits from Macedonia, to return once more to the banks of the Hyphasis, and thence to commence a career of triumphant conquest, that should not cease till the Macedonian standard should wave over Palimbothra and the Gangetic valley, and he should take possession of the Bay of Bengal in the name of the gods, as of old he had of the Indian Ocean.

The expeditions of this pupil of Aristotle were not merely warlike, they were scientific. Attended by men who had received the first education that Greece could afford, and himself of high ability and powers of observation, if the full results and records of his campaigns had come down to us, we should have had a knowledge of Central Asia and Northern India, far superior to that possessed by Europe at any time till fifty years ago. But it unfortunately happens that, notwithstanding the number of Greek *savans* and writers by whom he delighted to be accompanied, we have our information but at second-hand; and were it not for the accurate and trust-worthy Arrian, who lived four centuries after, we should have had nothing but a mass of fable and conjecture. Though, however, the original records of that great expedition have not come down to us, to Alexander and his army must we ascribe the popular myths that were afterwards current in antiquity regarding India, and which, increasing as they grew in age, gave rise to and nursed the adventurous spirit of the Italian Republics, the spirit of discovery of the Portuguese, the dreams of a Prester John and a land of gold, the enquiries of an Alfred the Great, and the travels of Sir John Mandeville and other early chroniclers. Every old veteran, as he retraced his steps homeward through the populous cities of Persia and Asia Minor, or as he sat under his own vine and his own fig-tree, fought all his battles o'er again, had his own ever-new story to tell of the wonders that he had

seen, and his own little knot of interested listeners, who magnified them as they extended them. The last relic of this strange spirit of curiosity, based in early days on unavoidable, and in later times on wilful ignorance, a curiosity and an ignorance fostered by the British and the East India Company until a recent period, is seen in the Indian novels of the early part of the present century, where every old Indian was of necessity a Clive, whose ill-gotten wealth was untold, whose crimes had been of the blackest die, and whose just fate was that of the suicide.

Of all the authors who accompanied Alexander, and who were eye-witnesses of and actors in many of the events that they relate, Ptolemy the son of Lagus, and Aristobulus, the son of Aristobulus, were the most trust-worthy. Arrian, in his introduction to his ‘*Anabasis*,’ gives sufficient reasons why he should trust their accounts above those of all others. Ptolemy, though of ignoble origin on his father’s side, speedily raised himself to a high position at the Court of Philip, and when Alexander set out on his Asiatic expedition, was one of his most intimate friends and advisers. He took a prominent part in all the exploits of the Indian campaign, and on one occasion saved the life of Alexander himself. On the death of his master, foreseeing that the empire must be broken up, he secured Egypt for himself, and after a series of wars with the other generals, laid in security and splendour the foundation of that dynasty, which received liberty and literature when they fled from Greece, and which became finally extinguished in the person of the beautiful Cleopatra. When he was fairly seated on the throne of Egypt, he became a most munificent patron of literature and the fine arts, a taste which he handed down to his favourite son and successor—Ptolemy Philadelphus. He seems to have employed the latter years of his life in writing the history of Alexander and his expedition, in circumstances very favorable at once to its truthfulness and graphic fullness. He died B. C. 283. Of Aristobulus we know much less. He belonged to Cassandreia ; accompanied Alexander in all his campaigns ; lived till the age of ninety years ; and like his contemporary wrote his history during the last six years of his life. So much Lucian tell us ; and Athenæus, besides Arrian, often refers to his work.

Baeton and Diognetus were both employed in the scientific suite of Alexander, accurately to measure the distances in his various marches. They are hence called *βηματιστάι*, and are both mentioned by Pliny. The name of the work of the former is *Στραθμοὶ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρου πορείας*. Cleitarchus was another of the historians who accompanied Alexander in his expedition. He was the son of Deinon of Rhodes, the writer whose work on

Persia Cornelius Nepos considered so trustworthy. Many critics have supposed that the work of Cleitarchus formed the basis of that by Quintus Curtius. He seems to have been more of a clever rhetorician than an accurate historian, and is often censured by later writers for his inaccuracy. Strabo and Arrian speak of an Androsthenes of Thasus, who was an admiral in the fleet of Nearchus, and wrote an account of the voyage, as well as a work entitled *Τῆς Ἰνδικῆς Παράπλοις*. Another and more famous admiral in that expedition was Onesicritus, who was with Alexander throughout the whole of his campaigns, and was distinguished especially for his skill in seamanship, a knowledge of which he must have derived from his native island of Ægina. It was he (for he was a disciple of the Cynic philosophy) who had an interview with the Brahmins or Indian Gymnosopists; and in the fleet he seems to have been second only to Nearchus, since he held the important post of pilot of the King's ship, for his services in which capacity he was rewarded in the same way as Nearchus, with a crown of gold. Diogenes Laertius gives us a full account of the work of Onesicritus. Beginning with the youth of Alexander, he traces up his whole history, interspersing with it many stories that are purely fabulous, or that do not rest on sufficient evidence. His is the honour of having been the first author to mention Taprobane or the island of Ceylon.

Of all these men however Nearchus was the most famous. A native of Crete, we find him holding high office in the Court of Philip of Macedon; and like Ptolemy, whom in many respects he resembled, one of the chosen companions of the young Alexander. Joining his master in the course of his Asiatic expedition at Bactria, he was afterwards appointed to the command of the fleet of the Indus and the Persian Gulf. Throughout the whole narrative of Arrian he is highly praised for his tact, his skill, his firmness. Even when attacked by the Oritæ, when he had to put back into one of their harbours, he shewed himself to be something of a general; leading the fleet through unknown seas and hidden dangers, when the fabulous and the superstitious combined together to render everything terrible. He at last reached the Anamis in Harmozia, and there met Alexander. Continuing his voyage up the gulf, in February (324 B. C.) he finally reached Susa, and was nobly rewarded by his master. Vincent, in his work on the "Commerce and Navigation of the Ancients in the Indian Seas," has tracked Nearchus in all the details of his voyage, and has also entered fully into the interesting question as to the authorship of the work that bears his name, and from which Arrian has taken the greater part of his *Indica*. The best geographers of later days bear evidence to the accuracy of his geographical details; and succeed-

ing discoveries by travellers have only tended to confirm statements that before seemed to be utterly fabulous.

The only other writer of this age, of whom we need now speak, is Eudemus. Born in Sicily, he flourished at the Court of Cassander in Macedonia, about 316 B. C. He was previously trained in the school of the Cyrenaic philosophers, and to such an extent had their religious scepticism become attached to him, that among his contemporaries he was viewed as an Atheist. He was certainly the arch-rationalist of his time. Eusebius tells us that Cassander sent him on an expedition of discovery down the Red Sea, and along all the coasts washed by the Indian ocean until he reached the distant isle of Panchæa. The work in which he gives an account of his travels is his *Ιερά Ἀναγραφή*, a title in which he lays claim to having taken the facts of his history from public documents. In many of his statements he seems to have been far in advance of the age in which he lived, and he betokens that decline in the hold which the popular religion took on the minds of educated men, and which prepared the soil for the introduction of the truths of Revelation.

The information which antiquity gained regarding India from the expedition of Alexander was soon increased and rendered more accurate by the third great historical event—the Invasion of its Gangetic districts by Seleucus Nicator. On the departure of Alexander from the provinces that he had conquered in India (B. C. 327), Philip son of Machatas was left as Satrap. The Malli and Oxydracæ, afterwards conquered, were also added to his Satrapy. At the head of only an insufficient number of mercenaries, and with Chandra Gupta stirring up the neighbouring tribes to revolt, we need not wonder that he was removed by assassination. Meanwhile Chandra Gupta, the early part of whose life we have already alluded to, completely expelled the troops left by Alexander. That monarch, becoming aware of those changes, appointed Eudemus, another of his generals, to act along with Porus, until another Satrap should be sent. Having treacherously murdered his colleague Porus, he marched to the assistance of Eumenes with a large army, and fought with him at the battle of Gabiene. Taking advantage of his absence from the seat of government, Chandra Gupta roused his countrymen, expelled the Greeks from their provinces, became master of the Punjab, and marching southward overran the whole of the Gangetic valley, laying the foundation of the Mauryan dynasty of Maghada. This probably occurred about B. C. 315. Meanwhile Seleucus had been

engaged in holding and adding to the dominions that fell to him after the death of Alexander. He recovered Babylon from Antigonus on the 1st of October B. C. 322, which is the great era of the Seleucidæ. Having now little to fear from Antigonus, who was occupied with his own affairs in Western Asia, he resolved to recover his lost possessions in North Western India, and if possible to extend them. But he found that he had no series of petty chieftains to deal with, whom he might subdue one by one, or set to oppose each other. He found Chandra Gupta at the head of a powerful empire, with an army, as Plutarch tells us, of 600,000 men. As might have been expected, even Seleucus could make but little impression on such a power: and so, wisely and in time he seems to have secured an honourable retreat, forming a treaty by which, for 500 elephants, he gave up to the great Mauryan monarch, the provinces on the West of the Indus, which probably he could no longer hold with advantage. To cement the alliance Megasthenes was sent by Seleucus as his ambassador at the Court of Palimbothra. He had thus the best opportunity for becoming acquainted with India, at a period when its whole Northern districts constituted one great empire. His 'Indica' was in four books. We have it now only in fragments, to collect and make quotations from which is the main object of the work before us. Dr. Schwanbeck thus sums up the information given by Megasthenes:—

"Geographiam Indiae scribere coepit finibus recte enumeratis. Deinde transit ad magnitudinem Indiae describendam, de qua primus inter omnes Graecos rectius judicavit, neque eam postea ullus, si universum spectas, accuratius definivit. Item primus et Daimacho excepto solus ex omnibus Graecis novit Indiae formam, de qua ii, qui ante Alexandrum scripserunt, nihil omnino, quod sciamus, certius dicere erant ausi, et cuius Macedones tam fuerant ignari, ut errore maximo longitudinem ab occidente ad orientem, a septentrionibus meridiem versus esse latitudinem putarent. Latitudinem dicit XVI. millia stad. explore, addens quo modo hoc spatium computaverit: ab Indo enim usque ad Pat'aliputram columnas milliarias X. mill. stad. indicare, reliquum spatium usque ad mare porrectum VI. mill. stad. ex computatione nautarum efficere. Quod spatium, etsi re vera media Indi pars a Gangis ostiis non amplius XIII. mill. DCC. stad. abest, tamen si computationis illius rationem habemus, videtur quam accuratissime indicavisse. Quanto autem intervallo Himalaja mons ab australi Indiae fine distaret, Megasthenes iam minus accurate poterat dicere, quum in hoc spatio terrae natura illi computationi minus conveniret. Quod igitur intervallum, quod recta via non amplius XVI. mill. CCC. stad. explet, et si Taprobanen insulam annumerat,

veris, XVII. mill. D. stad. aequat, XXII. mill. CCC. efficere contendit, qui tamen numerus illi modo computandi satis accurate videtur respondere. •

Altero quoque modo Indiae magitudinem Megasthenes descriptis. Asiam enim ad Africam sitam in quatuor partes sibi dividit, ex quibus contendit eam, quae a mari ad Euphratem pateat, esse minimam, alias duas, quae terras inter Indum et Euphratem comprehendant, conjunctas vix pares esse Indiae.

Postremo astronomice indicavit terrae situm et ambitum, apud Strabonem 76. memorans haecce: ἐν τοῖς νοτίοις μέρεσι τῆς Ἰνδικῆς τάς τε ἄρκτους ἀποκρύπτεσθαι, καὶ τὰς ὥκιας ἀντιπίπτειν. Alterum fieri in extrema Indiae parte, quae meridiem versus sita est, alterum in omnibus regionibus ab tropico ad meridiem sitis, nemo est qui nesciat.”

The date of the work must be placed previous to B. C. 288, at which time Chandra Gupta died. We have every reason to trust the accounts of Megasthenes, and nothing can be more interesting than for the scholar in India who has read Herodotus, Arrian, Strabo, and Quintus Curtius, and who has a detailed knowledge of the manners and customs of the Hindus around him at the present day, to read these fragments which Schwanbeck has collected, and compare them with what he already knows. The accuracy is most striking.

Chandra Gupta was succeeded by his son Vindusára or Bimbisara: A second embassy was sent either by Seleucus or his son Antiochus Soter to this king. The ambassador, whose name is given us by Strabo, was Daimachus. The king to whom he was sent is called by the Greek Geographer Allitrochades or Amitrochates. This name is supposed by Lassen to be the same as Amitragháta, the Sanscrit for “foe-killer.” Strabo considers him the most inaccurate of all the historians who have written regarding India, and hesitates not to apply to him the polite term *ψευδόλογος*. Vindusára was succeeded by his great son Asoka, B. C. 263, and in his reign a third ambassador of the name of Dionysius was sent to his court by Ptolemy Philadelphus, who reigned in Egypt from B. C. 285 to 246. This third embassy, however, is involved in great obscurity. Pliny in his Natural History (vi. 17) only says “Dionysius a Philadelpho missus.” It may be necessary to mention in this period the name of Patrocles, a Macedonian attached to the service of Seleucus, and holding under his successor Antiochus, the satrapy of the eastern provinces of Syria bordering upon the frontiers of India. As Strabo terms Dairnachus *ψευδόλογος*, so he applies to this writer, the name of whose work has not come down to us, the phrase ἥκιστα *ψευδόλογος*.

From this period on to fifty years after Christ, we have a series

of authors who are more critics than accurate historians or independent travellers. Phylarchus (B. C. 215) probably of Athens, in his *Iστορίαι*, seems to have begun with the death of Alexander, and in doing so to have treated of India. Polemon of Athens (about B. C. 200) was a geographer who travelled all over Greece, and wrote a work from which he has received the title ὁ περιηγητής. Mnaseas was a topographer or antiquarian like the preceding, and having the same surname, who wrote a 'Periplus' in three books, in which he treats of Europe, Asia and Africa respectively. Eratosthenes, the great Geometer who first measured the magnitude of the earth, (died B. C. 196) is said by Arrian and Plutarch to have written on the expedition of Alexander the Great; and certainly in his great map of the earth, which he drew according to his own measurements of distance, it would be interesting to know where he placed India relatively to other countries. A Eudoxus of Cyzicus, a geographer, was employed in Egypt by Ptolemy Euergetes, and is said to have undertaken many voyages to India by way of the Red Sea. Under the enlightened and fostering care of Ptolemy Soter, the trade between Egypt and India became most important. Not merely were Alexandria and Tyre its emporia, but the city of Berenice was built in an admirable situation on the west coast of the Red Sea. Hence goods were sent through the Thebaid to Coptos, where they were put in boats and conveyed to Alexandria by the Nile.

We now meet with no original notices regarding India till after the time of Christ. Soon all intercourse between the Syrian kings and the Indian tribes ceased, and the Seytho-Bactrian empire was established. Our knowledge of it is almost entirely derived from coins. Prof. Lassen and other scholars have entered fully into this subject, and to treat of it is beyond our province. In the year B. C. 144 we find that Appollodorus, a Greek Grammarian of Athens, wrote a work called Γῆς Περίσθος. It is remarkable as having been written in Iambic verse (*κωμικῷ μέτρῳ*). It must have embraced most of the geographical knowledge then current regarding India. His example was followed (about B. C. 70) by Scymnus of Chios, whose 'Periegesis' was dedicated to a king, supposed to be Nicomedes III. There is however much doubt as to the authorship of the poem, the probability being that it was taken from an original work of Scymnus written in prose. We shall see that afterwards Dionysius published a similar work. Alexander Cornelius, better known by his surname of Polyhistor (about B. C. 90) wrote a work to which the name of Παντόδαπῆς Υλης Λόγοι has been given. It consisted of 42 books, each of which professed to give a historical and geographical account of one of the chief countries of the Ancient World. Josephus, in his Jewish

Antiquities, and again in his answer to Apion, makes mention of a Philostratus, who wrote accounts of both India and Phœnicia. He says, when speaking of the greatness of Nebuchadnezzar and his public works, "Megasthenes in the fourth volume of his history of India speaks of these garden works, and sets forth the king both for his enterprise and his performances, to have been much superior to Hercules himself, having subdued the greatest part of Libya and likewise Iberia. Diocles makes mention of this king in the second book of his Persian history, and so does Philostratus, in the account he gives of the Phœnicians and the Indians." This is a very different man from the great Philostratus, to whom we shall presently have occasion to allude.

Another of the men of talent and adventure whom the Ptolemies gathered around them at the Court of Egypt was Agatharcides of Cnidus. He lived in the reign of Ptolemy Philometer (who died B. C. 146) and tells us that he was appointed guardian to one of the Egyptian kings during his minority. His work on Asia in 10 books, and more especially that on the Erythraean Sea, composed in his old age, gives him a place in our list. The last was especially valuable, for in the fifth book "he described the mode of life amongst the Sabæans in Arabia, and the Ictyophagi or fish-eaters, the way in which the elephants were caught by the elephant-eaters, and the mode of working the gold mines in the mountains of Egypt near the Red Sea."

After the time of Megasthenes we have but few additions to the classical literature on India, but what are copied from preceding writers. The Romans had their attention directed more to the west than the east ; and although an Indian ambassador is said to have visited Augustus and Claudius, and the hyperbolical flattery of the literati of the court of the former may thus have had a slender foundation, yet we cannot see that there was much new information on the subject. The dreaded Parthi were the limit of the empire in the east. Polybius (died B. C. 122) in his history (xi. 34) mentions a king Sophagasenus, who formed an alliance with Antiochus the Great. Schlegel translates the name *Subhagasenæs*, which in Sanskrit means "the leader of a fortunate army." He was probably a successor of Sandracottus. When Egypt came under their power, they did little more than continue that trade which the Ptolemies had established. The Sicilian Diodorus, having travelled largely in Asia and Europe, set himself to write a *Bibliotheca* or Universal History. He seems to have industriously copied the chief statements in the works of original historians, and to him are we indebted for much that we know of Ctesias and Megasthenes. He is indebted also to one Iambulus, who wrote a work on the physical appearance of the Indians. The story connected with this writer

seems to be a fabulous one, viz. that he was taken prisoner by the Ethiopians, and kept as a slave on a happy island in the east, where he became acquainted with the Indians. He must have written his history in the time of Augustus.

The industrious and accurate Marcus Terentius Varro, who has well been called the "most learned of the Romans," died 28 B. C. In his geographical writings, his *Libri Narales*, and his work *De Ora Maritima*, he chiefly followed Eratosthenes. These works seem more likely to have been his than to have been the production of P. Terentius Varro Atacina, the author of the *Argonautica*, with whom he is often confounded. M. Vipsanius Agrippa, the great friend of Augustus, must have treated of India in his "Commentarii." Pomponius Mela, who lived immediately after the time of Augustus, in his treatise 'De Situ Orbis' takes up India and the adjacent countries in the course of his descriptive catalogue, following Megasthenes as his chief authority. The Universal History of Nicolaus Damascenus, the friend of Augustus, seems to have contained passages from Megasthenes. The two Senecas mention a historian of the name of Timagenes, who was brought as a captive to Rome, but rose from the meanest employments to be the friend of Augustus. Under his protection he wrote several historical works, a Periplus of the whole sea in five books, and a work called Περὶ βασιλέων, in which he gave an account of Alexander the Great and his successors. Strabo, who also belongs to the age of Augustus, devoted the 15th book of his 'Geography' to a description of India and Persia. As he had not, in all his travels, himself visited these, he is indebted to previous writers, whom he draws upon very largely but very judiciously. In his writings he refers to Juba II. King of Mauritania, who was in his time lately dead. His peaceful reign was devoted to the arts of peace and pursuits of literature, and his historical and geographical works were valued by later writers. It was to be expected that Pliny in his 'Historia Naturalis' would not overlook India, and accordingly he considers it in the 6th book of that work; but his statements evidently shew that he could have given us much more information regarding it. He contented himself with saying that the accounts are conflicting and fabulous. He might have left his readers to judge of that. From him we learn that Seneca wrote a work on India. Pamphila, the great authoress of Nero's time, made an epitome of Ctesias in three books. Plutarch, also in Nero's time, has occasion to speak of India very fully, in his life of Alexander. Tacitus in his 'Annals' also speaks of India.

The date and events in the life of Quintus Curtius Rufus have been a cause of much controversy and conjecture among critics. From a flattering allusion to the *Princeps* of the Roman people in

the 10th book of his work "De Gestis Alexandri Magni, Regis Macedonum," it is generally agreed that he lived in or near to the time of Augustus. This work is one of the greatest interest, and well known to every school-boy. Its sources were no doubt the historians of Alexander's expedition, and in later times Ptolemy and Timagenes. Another historian over whom a perfect obscurity rests is Trogus Pompeius. We know his great historical work only from the abridgement or rather Anthology of it by Justin. He probably lived however in the time of Augustus ; while Justin, who is first quoted by Jerome, cannot have been later than the 5th century after Christ. The original work was entitled 'Liber Historiarum Phillipicarum,' and contained forty-four books. It approaches somewhat to the character of a Universal History, and by way of introduction or digression, takes up the early history of the Assyrians and Persians, and the expeditions of Semiramis and Darius Hystaspes.

Marinus of Tyre flourished about B. C. 150. He has been called the "founder of Mathematical Geography," seeing that he was the first to measure and describe places according to their latitude and longitude. One who so accurately studied the writings of preceding geographers and travellers as he did, must have had more clear ideas regarding India than any of his predecessors. We know him best through the great Ptolemaeus Claudius, who immediately succeeded him, and who often refers to his works. He gives us the names of writers consulted by Marinus, of whom we are otherwise entirely ignorant, Diogenes, Theophilus, Alexander of Macedon, Dioscurius, Septimius Flaccus, Julius Maternus, Titianus of Macedon, also called Maes, and "many others." The *Γεωγραφικὴ ὑφήγησις* of Ptolemy contains the whole geographical knowledge of the ancients, reduced to order and scientific completeness. The ancient world may be said never to have advanced beyond it, until the Portuguese and Columbus inaugurated a new career of maritime adventure and conquest. His projection of the sphere is bounded on the east by the Sinae and the people of Serica, and on the south by the Indian Sea. In the 7th book of his work he gives an account of India, the Malayan Peninsula, Ceylon and China. In the *Varia Historia* of Ælian, with its fabulous stories and gossiping style, we find many statements regarding India, chiefly taken from Megasthenes.

* Arrian of Nicomedia is perhaps, in all respects, the best of the authors of antiquity who have written regarding India, and whose works have come down to us. He flourished in the second century after Christ, and is known in literature as a follower of the Stoics and a successful imitator of Xenophon. His works, in respect both of subject and style, resemble those of the latter.

His value consists in the fact that he is perhaps the best historical critic of antiquity. He holds the first place in the rank of the historians of Alexander. He was not merely careful in choosing the best writers as his authorities, but exercised a rare sagacity in reconciling differences, discerning errors, and putting that which was important in its proper place. His statements regarding India at the end of his *Anabasis*, and his fuller work on the subject—"Indica," contain a succinct account of almost all the important facts that the ancients knew regarding India. Both the subject and style of this work, and that of Curtius, fit them admirably as text-books for our public schools: and in Germany, England, and in some cases in India, they are now read. In his *Indica*, he seems to follow Ctesias and Megasthenes, and to have embodied the *Parapluus* of Nearchus, of whom he speaks in very high terms.

To Arrian has been often ascribed the authorship of two works—a *Periplus* of the Euxine and also of the Erythraean Sea. The latter work is of some importance with reference to India, but it must have been written at a much later date. It is the work, evidently, of one well acquainted with the subject, who had probably himself made the voyage. It tells us of one Hippalus, who, as he sailed down the Red Sea and entered on the wide Indian ocean, discovered the regularity of the monsoons, and taking advantage of the fact sailed right across the ocean to the Malabar coast. It gives us a fuller account of the Eastern coast of India than is met with in previous writers. The south of India seems to have been partially known, and Comorin (Comar) the Cavery (Chaberis) Arcot (Arcati Regia) &c., seem to have been familiar. Solinus, (A. D. 238) in his Geography, gives an account of the various countries in the world, and seems to have brought together many interesting details regarding them. His work contained quotations from Megasthenes.

Philostratus of Lemnos flourished in the time of the Emperor Philip, about A. D. 250. His largest work is the lives of the Sophists, but that which has caused him to be best known is his biography of Apollonius of Tyana. It is this book, filled with incredible fables and absurdities, that gives great importance to the name of Apollonius, in the early history of the Christian Church. In most of his fabled miracles, and in the wonders of his extraordinary life, he was brought forward by heathens, such as Hierocles, as a greater than Jesus Christ. The whole work seems to be a collection of the more wonderful parts of the history of Ctesias and previous writers on the East, and to be in many cases "a parody of some of the Christian miracles." He is represented by Philostratus as

being of noble birth, and born in the city of Tyana, about 4 B. C. As a youth he went through the whole circle of philosophy and the sciences as then known, and ended by becoming a Pythagorean. Anxious to emulate the fame of his great master, he underwent a course of ascetic discipline, distributed his patrimony among his poor relatives, and set out on his travels, when he had passed the five years of his novitiate in perfect silence and mystic contemplation. After traversing Asia Minor, he set out for the East at the age of fifty years. At Nineveh he was joined by the Assyrian Damis, on whose life of his master, that of Philostratus was probably based. At Babylon he had many conversations with Arsaces (Bardanes), then king ; and was initiated into the rites of the Magi. Thus equipped he passed into India, where, at a place called Taxila, of which Phraortes was king, he entered into disputation with the Gymnosophsists, and with Iarchas, the chief of the Brahmans. After five years spent in his Eastern travels he returned to Greece, and set up as a miracle-monger. He is said to have met with Vespasian, then ambitious for the Roman Purple, and to have incited him to make efforts for it. He was tried for sorcery before Domitian ; but vanished, and was afterwards found in Greece. His prediction regarding the death of the tyrant was literally fulfilled. He finally died at Ephesus, though Rhodes and Crete also claim the honour of his dust. Such is an outline of the wonderful life of Apollonius of Tyana, so clumsy a fiction that we can now only wonder that even some of the Christian Fathers, such as Eusebius, allowed its truth.

The remaining notices of India in the Classics are soon disposed of. Dionysius surnamed Periegetes, lived probably in the 4th century after Christ, and wrote a *Περιήγησις τῆς Γῆς* in Hexameter verse ; in which he chiefly follows Eratosthenes. As he professes to take up the whole world in it, India naturally occurs. It was highly valued in ancient times, and is still extant. Nonnus, a Greek poet of Panopolis in Egypt, wrote a poem called the 'Dionysiaca' about the beginning of the 5th century after Christ. He is spoken of by Agathias, who immediately succeeded him. His work is an epic of more than Oriental length and bombast. It is in forty-eight books, and professes to trace the career of Dionysus. Wilford in the Asiatic Researches (vol. ix. p. 93) supposes that the poetaster borrowed at least the subject of his poem from the Mahabharat. Heeren, however, says "this must be understood only of the expedition of Bacchus into India. But even where the scene is laid in that country, it is not easy to discover in this poem anything of the true Indian character." Cosmas, surnamed Indicopleustes, lived under Justinian (A. D. 535. He was an Egyptian Monk, though in early life he followed

the pursuits of a merchant, and traded extensively in the Red Sea, along the east coast of Africa, and the whole southern coasts of Arabia, Persia and India. Having amassed a fund of knowledge and experience, he withdrew from the cares of life, and that he might embody his knowledge in a permanent form, entered a monastery. He published a work entitled *Τοπογραφία Χριστιανική*, with the object of proving that the world is an extended surface. In it he tells us that he travelled to Adule, a port of Ethiopia, belonging to the King of Auxume. It was here that he fell in with a certain Sopater, who had just returned from Ceylon, and who furnished him with full information concerning that island, which he has embodied in his work, and which proves it to have been then the "common emporium of southern commerce."

In many of the works of the early Christian Fathers we find allusions to India. The subject on which they chiefly write is that of the Brahmans, Gymnosophists and religious sects and castes. At a time when superstition and persecution led the whole of Christendom to be infected with a desire for the austeries of Monachism, when even such a great and manly soul as that of Augustine admired them, we need not wonder that they were led to other countries and other literatures for examples of similar asceticism. Palladius, the famous author of the *Iausiac History*, which was composed about A. D. 420, wrote a work *Περὶ τῶν τῆς Ἰνδίας εθνῶν καὶ τῶν βραχμάνων*. Much doubt, however, rests on the authorship. Whoever the writer was, he visited India along with Moses, Bishop of that Adule above mentioned. A work 'De Moribus Brachmanorum' is ascribed to St. Ambrose, but without reason. It is rather a free translation of that by Palladius. Porphyry, the celebrated antagonist of the Christians, who wrote about the beginning of the 3rd century, treats at some length of the Indian Gymnosophists, dividing them into the two classes of Brachmanes and Samanaci. To him this must have been a favorite subject: as in all respects of belief, and many of life, he corresponded with the latter class. All the descriptions of these men point to the fact that Buddhism was the prevailing religion of India at that time. Between Porphyry and Palladius, there was a Chinese traveller, Fa Hian, whose descriptions agree with those of both these authors. Porphyry mentions a Bardesanes Babylonius, who wrote on the Gymnosophists. He seems to have been a different man from the great Syrian Gnostic of the same name.

The early history of Christianity in India does not at present fall within our province, otherwise it would lead us to consider somewhat fully those Fathers and Ecclesiastical historians who have written regarding India, such as Sozomen, Theodoret, Epiphanius,

Valesius. We have Pantænus the first Missionary to India (A. D. 181) whose finding of St. Mathew's gospel there probably gave rise to the traditions of Thomas and Bartholomew having converted it. The fact of a Manichee, of the name of Thomas, having visited the Syrian Churches in the third century, may have further given rise to this tradition. The writings of Pantænus have not come down to us, but we have his pupil Clemens Alexandrinus, also Origen, Rufinus, Jerome, Eusebius and Socrates Scholasticus, who speak of him. Cyril treats of the Gymnosophists and makes quotations from Megasthenes. In the acts of the Council of Nice we find one of the Bishops who subscribed himself as Ἰωάννης Πέρσης, τῆς ἐν Περσίδι πάσῃ, καὶ τῇ μεγάλῃ Ἰνδίᾳ. The latter part, in the Great India, may refer merely to his having jurisdiction over the Church there, and not to his actual labours in the country. Sophronius, Patriarch of Jerusalem in the seventh century, states that Christianity was introduced into Ceylon by the Ethiopian Eunuch, of whose conversion Philip was the means. The story of Frumentius and Edesius, as told by Rufinus, is full of interest; and there is no reason to doubt its truthfulness. Wretched as are the epitomes made by Photius of Constantinople (about A. D. 863) of Ctesias and other writers on India, his name should not be passed over. Nor should that of Nicephorus Callistus, (died A. D. 1450) whose Ecclesiastical History is a compilation from the works of Eusebius and other early Church Historians. In the 'Speculum Universale' of Vincentius Bellovacensis, and the writings of Albertus Magnus in the thirteenth century, we find many of the ancient stories regarding India reproduced.

We would refer our readers for fuller information to Hudson's collection of the Minor Geographers, to Vincent's admirable work on "the Commerce and Navigation of the Ancients in the Indian seas," and to Dr. Smith's "Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography and Mythology," to which, in this article, we have been indebted. Dr. Schwanbeck's work is one of laborious research, and is exhaustive on Megasthenes. The whole subject, however, of India in the Classics, yet requires to be fully taken up by some ripe scholar. It will amply repay a minute study, and we believe much light through it may yet be thrown on the early history of India. So far as classical studies are pursued in the public schools for Christians in India, it would be well to accomplish two objects at once, and study the Indian portions of the works of such admirable writers as Arrian, Strabo and Curtius. This would be at once done were they to be chosen as the text-books for examination in the various Indian Universities. They are now largely read in our English public schools.

From the 5th to the 10th century a dark veil enshrouds the history of India, to be withdrawn only by an attentive study of topes, monuments and inscriptions, as illustrating and illustrated by written records. Time plants her ruthless heel on all such memorials, and hurries them off to decay, or covers them under jungle and vegetation. Even the early British period is retreating into dim obscurity, and our history in India a hundred years ago has become a matter of research for the antiquary. Let us raise India to her proper position in the page of history. Then will China follow, the dark vapours of a priest-created antiquity will be dispelled, and God's purposes of mercy to the world will be more and more accomplished, by the union of the various tribes in the bond of Christian brotherhood.

ART. III.—1. Notes on the Expediency of establishing a Tribunal of Commerce in Calcutta. Calcutta, 1857.

2. Commercial Law, its Principle and Administration. By LEONE LEVI. London, 1850.

LAW has been truly characterized as the great social science by which the rights of men and the broad rules of morality are explained. In the various civilised countries of the world these rights and rules may receive modifications from local circumstances and national peculiarities, but in their great fundamental principles, in their radical enunciation of right and wrong, they will be found substantially to agree.

Commercial Law is the science which regulates the mercantile dealings of nations, and is in like manner found unvarying in its leading features, and uniform in all its essentials, and is therefore international rather than municipal. Local usages and national habits may indeed engraft peculiarities upon Commercial Law in some countries; but fundamentally it is found to be based on a few similar leading principles.

In the early ages of the world these Laws embraced comparatively few clauses, adapted in scope and tendency to the limited requirements of the nations. The Athenians legislated concerning Partnerships, Contracts, Exchanges, Usury, Debtors and Creditors, and Commercial Books. To this active but exclusive race of traders we are indebted for the first "Corn Laws" known to mankind, in which it was enacted that no Athenian, or foreigner residing in the country, should lend money on a ship bound to any place other than Athens; and that if any such loan took place, the creditor should be refused the aid of the Law in the recovery of his claim.*

The most ancient Laws relating to Commerce are to be found amongst the Institutes of Menu, a production pronounced by Sir W. Jones to be the oldest work on record—prior even to the Books of Moses. In these ancient Indian Laws we find instructions on many matters of trade, of a very clear and definite character. The rights of debtor and creditor, the legal rate of interest, tolls to be levied, liabilities of carriers by land and water, proper weights and measures, fraudulent dealings—these and many other matters relating to commerce were all distinctly treated by Menu.†

Nine hundred years before the Christian era the Rhodians possessed a system of maritime written law, which descended

* Leone Levi's Commercial Law of the world, p. 2.

+ Institutes of Menu, chap. 8, pp. 204—2.

through after generations to the present day, and has formed the basis of much modern legislation.

In later times, when the Commerce of the world was monopolised successively by Venetians, Dutch and Portuguese, before the Anglo-Saxon race had dared their older competitors, or dreamed of becoming supreme upon the world of waters, the simple details of foreign trade called for but few interferences from the law. We can easily imagine how seldom mercantile complications arose in the early days of British commerce, when the external trade of the port of London was transacted through one single out-let, the old wharf at Billingsgate.

The early attempts of British sovereigns at commercial legislation were not conceived in the happiest spirit, and certainly were not in conformity with our modern ideas of free trade. One monarch dictated a schedule of prices at which merchandise should be bought and sold : a second, following in his predecessor's steps, declared by special act in what localities certain trades should be carried on. A third sovereign, who had evidently gone to the same school of political economy, forbade merchants, under heavy penalties, to deal in more than one kind of merchandise ; whilst another monarch settled the balance of trade right royally, by compelling foreign merchants resorting to the country for the sale of their goods, to expend all their proceeds in the purchase of British merchandise. Such were the laws enacted by "the wisdom of our ancestors" for the protection of commerce,—laws which in the end so perplexed and bewildered the dealer that he was oftentimes puzzled to know how he was to carry on his business. It was this *embarras de richesses* which no doubt induced the body mercantile, in the days of the red and white roses, to beg of the sovereign power not to overwhelm them with any more protection, but to cease all legislation and leave them to their own devices.

How, with the spread of knowledge and religious liberty, the external commerce of England grew from small but daring beginnings to become the marvel and envy of the civilized world, needs not now be told. How Raleigh, and Drake, and Cook, and other brave and adventurous spirits, won by degrees the barren spots of the distant world, and the peopled colonies of Holland, Spain and Portugal, until, in our own time, the question is not "where does the flag of England float?" but rather "where is it not unfurled?"

We have lived to see a very moderate scale of imperial customs duties producing annually as much as the entire value of the Imports and Exports of England in the days of "Good Queen Bess." We see the transactions of one of the leading Firms of Calcutta exceeding the trade of a first-rate European city in the

middle of the fourteenth century : we behold the trade of Bengal exceeding the commercial dealings of the half of Europe at the date of the English Revolution.

Although Great Britain has outstripped all other nations in the wonderful development of her external trade, there have been continental nations who have carried on no paltry dealings beyond sea,—whose traders have in their time won the appellation of Merchant Princes.

The citizens of Venice, Genoa and Florence at one period held the commerce of the west in their hands, and to no small amount. The Flemish Burghers in due time carried off a share of this trade, which was subsequently diverted in a great measure by the enterprise of the Hanse Towns, whose merchants amassed wealth at the cost of the Italian States. Holland next came in for a share of the world's trafficking—followed soon after by the adventurous Portuguese, who found their way to the wealth of the Indies by the Cape of Good Hope, and so dealt a death-blow to the remaining commerce of the Italians. France, Spain, Holland, and Portugal, all enjoyed a course of prosperous trade with newly discovered countries, exceeded only by that of Great Britain.

Amongst all these changes, with such a vast accession to the business of the world, we can understand how new complications in trade arose, how multifarious the dealings of merchants became, and how necessary the traders of the west found it to direct their transactions by a system based on the acknowledged principles of truth and equity. These usages in due course received the sanction of Legislators, and thus expanded into Laws, more or less perfect and explicit, according to the genius of the people amongst whom they were found.

It was towards the eleventh century, according to Chitty's *Laws of Commerce and Manufactures*, about the time of the first crusade, that the earliest code of more modern sea-laws was compiled. This code was arranged by the people of Amalphi : it is thought to have been principally collected from the Rhodian institutions, and appears to have been generally received, during a considerable period, by the countries bordering on the Mediterranean. But in process of time, as the maritime states, which gradually arose in Europe, began to set up codes of their own, great inconvenience was felt from the discordance of the various enactments, and a new collection, compiled from all those which had gone before, was established, as Grotius informs us, by the authority of almost all the sovereigns of Europe : this new collection was entitled *Consolato del mare*. In the thirteenth century it was received as law in Italy, Germany, France and the Greek Empire, and Vinnius affirms that most of the Marine Laws in Spain, Italy, France, and England are borrowed from it. It seems

to be considered as a branch of international law; and in spite of certain defects, its regulations are of high authority in all the maritime states of Europe.

These were followed by the *Hanse Laws* of 1597 and 1614, and in 1681 by the famous *Ordinance de Marine* of Louis the fourteenth.

In many instances, however, the active habits and urgent wants of busy men could not be satisfied with the cautious and often uncertain administration of Mercantile Laws by the ordinary tribunals of the country. Hence the creation of "Tribunals of Commerce."

The first instance on record of the formation of this description of court is to be found in the year 1160, when the citizens of Pisa instituted a Tribunal of Commerce to adjudicate upon all mercantile, shipping, and trading cases, guided by the constitution and the laws of their country, and, in cases where these were silent, by the ordinary mercantile usage of the place.*

The advantages arising from the action of these popular courts were not long in being appreciated by other commercial communities; and in due course they were found to obtain in most countries of continental Europe, although many of them did not possess a tithe of the external trade of England, some of them not more than is in the present day enjoyed by a third rate shipping port of Great Britain.

Under the Empire, France saw a new impetus given to the administration of mercantile law by her Tribunals of Commerce, from the improved form and higher sanction accorded them in the *Code Napoleon*, a Code which has by degrees become established in other countries. America, profiting by the example of European nations, and as usual in advance of the parent country in action, if not in purpose, has adopted similar Tribunals for the convenience of her commercial community.

The result is that the gay Frenchman, the brave Belgian, the resolute Bremen and Hamburgher, the cunning Greek, the indolent Portuguese, the jealous Spaniard, the enterprising Sardinian, the impoverished Roman, the wealthy Mexican, the fast American, the bigotted Turk, the indifferent Neapolitan, the reckless Maltese, the sturdy Saxon,—all these possess Tribunals of Commerce, before which every mercantile case, with some few exceptions, may be or must be heard, with more or less of definitiveness in the decision;—whilst Englishmen, whose ships navigate every sea, whose merchandise is found in every mart of every land, are to the present day without such institutions.

How can this anomaly be accounted for? Is it that the ordi-

* Leone Levi's Commercial Law of the world, p. 4.

nary course of English law pursues its silvery way so swiftly, so adroitly as to leave all other modes of adjusting commercial differences far behind? Is it that British merchants find the legal course so cheap, the legal end so equitable and sound, that simpler justice could not be, that Codes Napoleon, Hanse Town laws, Italian Consulates were not half so just or fitted for their use?

This can scarcely be, or else why the agitation carried on by leading men on 'Change' for a period as long as the siege of Troy, and as yet without result, although we find foremost amongst the movers such names as Brougham, Wharncliffe, Harrowby, Baring and Rothschild. Meetings have been held in almost every leading town of the United Kingdom, by men engaged in commerce, manufacture, and banking, to press upon the imperial legislature the necessity of establishing Tribunals of Commerce.

Following in the same track, and feeling the same want, the merchants and traders of Calcutta have at length commenced a similar agitation. At a meeting of the Chamber of Commerce in the autumn of last year, the subject of a Commercial Tribunal for this port was discussed, and a Committee appointed to consider upon and adopt such proceedings as might be best calculated to further the end in view. The opinions of the Mercantile Firms of Calcutta were sought by circular, and these we have now under notice.

The pamphlet heading this article treats the subject matter of the present agitation with sufficient brevity, contenting itself with a mere glance at the question. It does no more than hint at any solution of the main difficulties in the way, rather looking to the collected opinions of the mercantile body as the nucleus of some future line of action.

The Committee of Merchants and Traders take their stand strictly for the appointment and legalization of a Tribunal of Commerce, composed of gentlemen engaged in Mercantile business. Such a Court they think may accomplish much good in a variety of capacities:—

"*First*,—and this should always be its first duty, it may be ' a Court of Conciliation : for when both parties have given in ' clear detailed statements of their grievances and claims, and ' defence, it may often be easy enough for a clear-headed Presi- ' dent, and two brother Merchants or Tradesmen, to see who is ' wrong, and what may be conceded on both sides, and thus to ' settle a question at once.

"*Secondly*.—It may act as a court of Advice and Protection ; ' the advantages of which we have already pointed out.

"*Thirdly*.—As a court of Arbitration ; each party binding ' itself to submit to the award.

“*Fourthly*.—As a court of Justice of First Instance ; whence an appeal may be carried to the Common Law Courts.

“*Fifthly*.—As a final Court of Justice, adjudicating to a certain amount.

“*Sixthly*.—As a final court of Justice to any amount, where the parties choose to make it so, by binding themselves to submit to the decision.”

The printed opinions of the individual members appear to be divided between a mercantile tribunal as a distinct institution, and the appointment of one or two commercial men to the “Small Cause Court,” who should sit jointly with the present Judges of that tribunal in all cases of a mercantile character.

To the latter scheme, however useful it might occasionally prove, there are undoubtedly grave objections, which in our opinion should negative the proposal. By the infusion of the mercantile element into any of the existing Courts of Law, we might do something to ensure right decisions in commercial cases ; but the legal forms, the legal cost, and the legal delay must nevertheless still be as prominent and as fatal as ever. Besides which, the operation of a Commercial Tribunal, in all matters of arbitration and conciliation, would be entirely lost in the proposed plan of amalgamation with the Small Cause Court.

There are few, if any, save perhaps amongst the Legal Profession, who will deny the great necessity which exists in this country for the adoption of some measure or measures which shall ensure to Commercial men a more satisfactory adjustment of their differences than at present exists. Few disinterested minds, we say, can deny the urgency of this want.

The external trade of British India has grown from small beginnings to mighty proportions. Contrast the present exports of Calcutta with the consignments of produce by “the united corporation of British Merchants trading to the East Indies” in the days of the first Georges. Compare them again with the amount of Calcutta trade at the period of the abolition of the Company’s Commercial Monopoly, and we shall see how altered the whole state of things has become, and consequently how different the requirements of the mercantile community. During the last seventeen years the shipments from the port of Calcutta have doubled, whilst the Imports have been trebled. In the Commercial year 1818-9 the exports of Goods were to the value of Co.’s Rs. 6,45,23,204 ; whilst in 1855-6 they amounted to Co.’s Rs. 12,60,92,637. Of these amounts forty-seven per cent. were made to Great Britain in the first named period, and in the latter thirty-two per cent. During the same lapse of time the Imported Goods were from the mother country fifty-one and

seventy-one per cent. respectively, the gross value having been Co.'s Rs. 2,81,33,832 and Co.'s Rs. 8,06,08,182. We have not at our command the trade returns for the port of Madras, but those from Bombay give the following result :—

1838-39.

Imports of Merchandise	...	Rs. 3,02,77,719
Exports of ,,	..	,, 4,39,90,602
* Shipping, Arrivals 245	Vessels 1,01,656	tons.
,, Departures 249	,, 1,06,520	,,

1855-56.

Imports of Merchandise	...	Rs. 6,52,96,636
Exports of ,,	..	,, 8,94,06,393
Shipping, Arrivals 320	Vessels 2,29,403	tons.
,, Departures 324	,, 2,31,496 ³	,,

Having admitted the necessity for some improvement in the existing state of Commercial Law and its administration in this country, we will proceed to examine one by one the various proposals placed before us by the Pamphlet now under notice, and ascertain how nearly they approximate to similar proceedings in other countries, and how far they appear to meet the urgency of the case.

The question presents itself in such a multiplicity of shapes as to cause a great absence of unanimity in suggesting a remedy for the evil. It may reasonably be doubted if any particular class of men are generally the best judges as to their own legislative or administrative requirements; and although in this particular instance the case appears to be one in which Commercial men may freely pronounce an opinion, we believe the Calcutta Merchants would have done well to have followed the example of their fellow agitators in Great Britain, and have secured the co-operation of a few Law-Reformers from other classes in this presidency, as well as the aid of the Madras and Bombay Chambers of Commerce.

In entering on this review of the proposed Tribunal, we would beg first to notice one circumstance which does not appear to have occurred to the agitators in this city, or is at any rate passed over in silence. It is, that despite the vast magnitude of the trade of Great Britain as compared with that of any other country in the world, British Merchants are yet infinitely behind their brethren in nearly all foreign countries in their acquaintance with the principles of Commercial Law.

* Includes only square rigged vessels.

Notwithstanding that Chemistry, Botany, Geology, Meteorology and other sciences, embodying the laws which govern the physical world, are taught in English Schools of the present day, there never has been, nor is there, any attempt made, to impart to British youth of any class the slightest knowledge of those fundamental Laws which rule the social and Commercial world. We are not arguing that scholastic institutions should become training Schools for Lawyers, nor that Schoolmasters need be Members of the legal profession ; but we do believe that were the first principles of social and Commercial Law instilled into the minds of young men coincidentally with knowledge of Book-keeping, History and Arithmetic, they would make far better men of business and more useful members of society. We do not wish Ovid, Xenophon, and Aeschylus, to be replaced by Blackstone, Sir J. Scott, and Chitty, but if students intended for the mercantile profession were accustomed to study such authors, we cannot doubt the profitable results in the busy after life of the rising generation.

It has unfortunately been the custom amongst our countrymen to regard the practice of the Law too much in the light of a device of the Satanic Power, for the purpose of perplexing and plundering mankind in general : to look upon legal enactments as so many social man-traps, and lawyers as the *Familiars* of our great national inquisition, clad in wigs and gowns in place of masks and tunics. But let us ask what would become of property without the aid of the Law ? Without the Law-merchant how could commerce be carried on ? That there are black sheep amongst the legal profession, that there are grave defects in the constitution and administration of English Law, is not to be denied. But as well might we condemn Christianity because some amongst the ministers of religion bring discredit on the sacred office. The sooner the English as a nation cast aside this barbarous prejudice, and look upon the Law in its true light, the better it will be for them as men and as merchants.

The man of commerce, little as he may be aware of it, cannot enter upon the most trivial transaction without being dependent on the Law for a right direction to his proceeding, without being therefore to some extent a Lawyer. In the *India Jurist*, published in Calcutta in the year 1843, and conducted by a talented member of the profession, we find an echo of our opinion upon this especial subject, in an address to the merchants of British India. It says "The Charter-party, the ship's papers, the bill of lading, ' the policy, the Respondentia or Bottomry bond, with many ' more of a like character, are but household words in the mer- ' chant's counting-house. Yet, how many of the opulent and ' experienced members of any British Chamber of Commerce

' will accurately define the effect, will solve the construction, the adaptation to circumstances of those familiar mercantile instruments?" It is even so. Whatever may be the boasted superiority of Britons in some matters, it assuredly is not to be found in their knowledge of Commercial Law. Never was there a more erroneous statement made than in a recent issue of the London *Economist*, apt as that pretended *liberal* journal is at misrepresentation, wherein it says, when treating of Tribunals of Commerce, that the nations of Continental Europe are so far behind us in the extent and nature of their trade as to render it impossible to look to them for any examples in mercantile law. The real truth is that we might look to foreign countries for guidance in this matter with vast benefit, had we similar tools to work with, which unfortunately we have not.

One of the letters in the Calcutta pamphlet, from the pen of the manager of our Commercial Bank, tells us that—

"Tribunals of Commerce, as established in France and Belgium, are found to work well and satisfactorily, both as regards economy of time and expense. But their especial merit consists in the sound judgment and equity which have always characterized both their decisions and proceedings.

"The reasons for this are obvious. The Judges presiding at these Tribunals are men whose lives and experiences have been chiefly devoted to the questions which are brought before them for judgment, or more properly speaking, arbitration, for such is really the character of the proceedings. The decisions being based upon the laws, usages, and customs which prevail within their jurisdiction, such experience as they possess enables them at once to see the merits or demerits of the case, and to decide without loss of time, and at a trifling expense to the parties at issue, upon the question before them.

"I speak upon this matter with confidence, having had practical experience of their working in Belgium, where they are established under the code Napoleon; in Malta, where a similar Tribunal exists, under the Code de Rohan; and in other Mediterranean Ports, where Courts of Arbitration founded for the adjustment of commercial disputes, have existed independent of the ordinary Law Courts, since the days when the Italian Republics led the Commerce of the world. In many cities of the United States the Chambers of Commerce are invested with powers of arbitration in Commercial disputes to a certain amount."

The writer might with great truth have said more. He might have added that not only are the merchant-judges, men "whose lives and experiences have been chiefly devoted to the questions which are brought before them for judgment," but they have in

their youth been grounded in the fundamental principles of Commercial Law at the colleges of their country.

It is notorious amongst observant travellers on the continent of Europe, that not only are foreign merchants well versed in the leading details of the Commercial science, but their wives are frequently able to converse with ease and accuracy upon most questions connected with commerce! How many English ladies would be able to give a definition of a Bottomry-bond or a Charter-party, much less to discuss any knotty technicality connected with them! Yet, despite the dictum of the *Economist*, one would have no difficulty in the matter amongst the fair sex in France, Belgium, or Germany.

In considering the establishment of a Tribunal of Commerce in Calcutta, this fact then must be borne in mind. It need not in any way be a bar to the attainment of their object, though it may modify the constitution of a commercial court.

Of the value of such a tribunal, regularly constituted and recognised by the authorities of the land, in the three minor capacities to which we have before alluded at page 319, viz.: as a court of conciliation, of advice, and of arbitration, there can be no second opinion. It may be urged by some, that the Chamber of Commerce, through its committee, is free to exercise those friendly functions at the present moment, without any fuller powers deputed to it. That they *may* be so exercised, we readily admit, provided all the parties involved in a case be willing to refer the matter to the committee, though we much question if the result would be accepted, as complete and satisfactory, by parties at a distance having an interest in the question. Besides this, there is the probability of one party in a case open to arbitration being averse, from some motive, to refer the dispute to any but a court of law. It may happen to be an unamiable supercargo, an ignorant captain, or a cantankerous factor, either of whom would be only too ready to give trouble or cause delay, unless there were some tribunal from whose swift and searching investigation he could not hope to flee.

The Pamphlet of the Chamber of Commerce speaks much to the purpose when it uses the following language:—

“ Every man of business can say for himself how many of his ‘ contentions and difficulties might have been prevented, or ‘ smoothed over, by the existence of a court with such powers ‘ and ends, honestly carried out, in the kindly spirit in which ‘ they must always have been intended to act; and from which, ‘ finding the sense of their brother merchants and tradesmen ‘ against them, those might return as friends who sought it ‘ as foes.”

We will instance a case in point, so much to the purpose, as to

be deserving of a place in this paper : it illustrates most completely the usefulness of some such tribunal as that for which we are arguing ; for although the case was in this instance decided by mutual reference to a brother merchant, it is not always that both parties would take such a common-sense view of their own interests. The following is from an article in "*Household Words*," on the precise subject which is now occupying these pages :—

"A city merchant had purchased a number of cases of foreign goods, I believe Maccaroni. Many, on being weighed and examined, were found to be no more than half full. A hole was discovered in these cases, and much of the Maccaroni had been bitten to pieces, so that there could be no doubt but that the damage had been caused by mice. But who was to bear the loss ? Certainly not the purchaser, who had bargained for full cases of sound Maccaroni. The importer declared that the mice must have attacked the goods while on the wharf in Thames Street, it being impossible his agents should have shipped the animals along with the goods. On the other hand the wharfinger protested there was no such thing as a mouse to be found on his premises ; which he had been at great cost to have made mouse-tight ; each party was resolute. The case was placed in the hands of "eminent lawyers;" there was every prospect of somebody having to pay handsomely, in addition to the value destroyed by the mice. By great good luck the two disputants encountered each other one day on Change ; and happening to relate the matter with some bitterness to a third person, they were assured by him that, if they chose, they could settle the affair in ten minutes between themselves, by only taking a common-sense view of the case. He pointed out to them that the direction in which the mice-holes were gnawed would clearly indicate whether the animals had entered the boxes whilst lying on the wharf, or whether they had been imported in them, which might have occurred from the boxes having been left open at the port of shipment after packing. The intruders could not have got in during the voyage : for except in a few coasting vessels, mice are never found, as they have insuperable objections to sea-sickness. The whole question was—did the mice eat their way into the boxes, or did they cut their way out of them ? If they were Italian mice packed in with the Maccaroni, which had eaten their way through the cases for air, the holes would be gnawed and jagged within, and smooth without ; if they were English mice, with a taste for Maccaroni which deal boards could not baulk, the outside of the holes would bear the marks of teeth, and the inside would be smooth. The matter appeared so simple, when viewed in this light, that both parties agreed to adjust their

dispute by the appearance of the holes in the cases. They did so within ten minutes of that time; and not only saved hundreds of pounds, but preserved their former friendly feeling, which, had the law-suit gone on, would no doubt have been completely at an end."

With a Patent Law in India, who can say how many disputes may arise out of supposed or real infringement of patented inventions? And if there be any class of cases more urgently than any others demanding decision by men practically and intimately acquainted with the subject matter before them, and not by legal gentlemen, it is most assuredly such as these. Be the requirements of members of the bar what they may, it is impossible they can be competent to argue, or that professional judges can be competent to decide, cases involving technicalities of Mechanics, Chemistry or any other art or science. What could any leading practitioner of our Supreme Court make of some patented machine comprising "*Doffers*," "*Strippers*," "*Feeders*," and "*Devils?*" How he would flounder about in a chemical suit amidst "*protoxides*," "*supersulphates*," "*hydrochlorides*," and "*latent caloric?*" What would any one of our judges make out of "*Mull Mulls*," "*Honey Combs*," "*Japan Spots*," or forty-five inch "*Books?*" They would be inclined to wish that such institutions as Tribunals of Commerce had an existence in this country, and certainly the suitors in the case would join most cordially in the desire.

We remember some years since reading a case involving a contested patent right in some new machine, which whilst it effectually baffled judge, counsel, and jury, in their attempt at a decision, gave rise to circumstances strongly in favor of Tribunals of Commerce. The counsel for the defendant had cruelly puzzled and bewildered the principal witness for the plaintiff, in so much that it became quite evident he scarcely knew what he was bearing testimony to. Before he was allowed to sit down, the foreman of the jury requested him to repeat, as slowly and deliberately as he could, his description of the plaintiff's machine, whilst he committed it to paper. This was done; the witness was then ordered out of Court, and the defendant's evidence called in. The chief engineering witness on this side was in like manner told, after the usual badgering from the opposing counsel, to give his account, detail by detail, of the defendant's machine, which he did. At the termination of the evidence the foreman of the jury requested that the two engineering witnesses might be recalled, to have the written descriptions of their machines read over to them before the jury retired, which was done, each one separately repeating his solemn declaration to the truth of what was read to him. The foreman then called the

attention of the Court and the jury to the fact that, as a means of testing the value of the evidence placed before them, he had read the description of the defendant's machine to the plaintiff's witness, and that of the plaintiff's to the defendant's witness, both of whom had nevertheless sworn to the descriptions as representing their own patents. Eventually a special jury decided the case by a personal examination of the opposing machines, when uninfluenced by special pleading and freed from all torturing cross-examinations, they were able to arrive at a just decision, acting in fact, though by a somewhat lengthy and costly process, the part of a Tribunal of Commerce.

Before quitting this part of the subject we are tempted to quote another case, equally if not more to the purpose, which took place three years since. It was tried in Edinburgh, and goes far to prove the advantages of Tribunals, presided over by practical men, where high legal attainments and first-rate scientific acquirements are equally at fault. The question at issue was whether a substance found in certain lands in Scotland was or was not *coal*. The case excited intense interest at the time amongst legal and scientific bodies, and was afterwards published in a pamphlet headed "What is Coal?"

It appeared that the plaintiff had leased some land to the defendant, on certain terms of royalty, for the purpose of digging for *coal*. The latter had succeeded in turning up very large quantities of a black inflammable substance, richly impregnated with hydrogenous gas, and as such, very valuable for gas works, although not so suitable for ordinary fuel. The speculation became, in consequence, unexpectedly remunerative to the worker, and mortifying in proportion to the proprietor; who beholding the huge mine of wealth opened by others on his land, brought the action to try whether—as the right he had leased away was solely and exclusively the exploration of coal—the substance dug up by the lessers was, or was not, coal; for, if not coal, they had no right to it. The plaintiff, therefore, by his counsel, maintained that the mineral worked by the defendant was not coal, and although he was not prepared to say what it really was in ordinary language, he called in a legion of professors of geology and mineralogy, of microscopists and miners, to declare that it was shale, clay, bituminous earth—anything in fact but coal. The chemist took his crucible and his blow pipe, and he too insisted, on the word of a philosopher, that it did not burn like coal, and did not leave the ashes of coal. The microscopist applied a powerful lens, and had no sort of hesitation in avowing the absence of all traces of those cellular and vegetable tissues which exist in all coal: consequently it could not be coal. The

miner declared that he had never seen any coal similar to that worked by the defendant, and that, therefore, it was absurd to call it coal.

So much for the science of the plaintiff. The defendant had a still larger array of philosophy on his side, and a host of men, equally known to the scientific world, did declare on their reputations as geologists, chemists and microscopists, that the substance in dispute had all the characteristics to make it coal; that in short it was most decidedly, unequivocally, and beyond dispute, coal, and nothing but coal.

The array of evidence presents a curious illustration of the fallacies of science in the nineteenth century, and is quite worth quoting. Professor A. declared that it burnt precisely like coal: Professor B. protested in plain English it did not. Professor A. stated that he found it to contain only six per cent. of fixed carbon: Professor B. had found ten per cent. of carbon in it; while Professor C. met with sixty-five per cent. of carbon. Professor A. stated that the mineral was bituminous shale: Professor B. asserted that it contained the merest traces of bitumen. Their duel being over, Professor C. found that no degree of heat would cause it to yield bitumen. Professors A. B. C. and D. declared positively in full chorus that it possessed no signs of an organic structure. On the other side, Professors E. F. G. and H. avowed much more positively that it had a most unmistakeable vegetable organization, with perfect traces of woody fibre, cellular tissue and every other characteristic of the best Wallsend. Professor J. found that it had no fixed carbonaceous base, but its base was earthy matter: Professor K. discovered on the contrary that the base was decidedly carbonaceous, with very slight traces of earth. Professor J. could obtain nothing like coke from it; and he had tried very hard too; whilst Professor K., with scarcely an effort, had obtained forty-one per cent. of coke from it!

We do not remember how this case was decided, but here again was ample room for a jury of matter-of-fact business men who would fling science to the wind and decide on the apparent merits.

From viewing the Tribunal of Commerce in the capacities already indicated, it is necessary to proceed to a consideration of it as a Court of First Instance, as well as of Final Adjudication: and doubtless in such cases as might thus come before it, the advantages arising from its action would be equally, if not more, marked than in mere matters of arbitration. The opening up of the far interior of India to British enterprise: the enormous growth of the country and coasting trade; the establish-

ment of commercial firms in the Mofussil ; all these causes must tend to complicate the relations between European and native traders, and render differences of more frequent occurrence.

In disputes or claims arising in this way there is even more need of a Tribunal practically acquainted with the work coming before it, inasmuch as there is no commercial law applicable to the Mofussil.

In the capitals of the Presidencies the commercial law is a part of the British statute or common law, which has grown up out of the mercantile necessities of succeeding generations, explained and applied with wonderful ability by some of the brightest lights of the British Bench. The American Storey speaks in the following eloquent strain of one of our eminent Judges :—“Wherever commerce shall extend its social influence ; wherever justice shall be administered by enlightened and liberal rules ; wherever contracts shall be expounded upon the eternal principles of right and wrong ; wherever moral delicacy and juridical refinement shall be infused into the municipal code, at once to persuade men to be honest and to keep them so ; wherever the intercourse of mankind shall aim at something more elevated than the grovelling spirit of barter, in which meanness, and avarice, and fraud, strive for the mastery over ignorance, credulity and folly :—the name of Lord Mansfield will be held in reverence by the good and the wise, by the honest merchant, the enlightened lawyer, the just statesman, and the conscientious judge.”*

Despite the talents employed in the enactment and administration of English commercial laws, they come down to us burthened with much that is now obsolete in practice, and much that were better expunged or amended. There is indeed *too much* Law : the legal chaff needs winnowing from the solid grain. A codification of commercial law adapted to the requirements of this country, and made applicable to the mofussil, would be a task of primary importance and of great value to the industry of the presidency.

On this part of the subject one of the mercantile opinions printed in the Calcutta pamphlet is much to the purpose when it says :—

“The great expediency, nay, necessity, of having the Mercantile law of England codified and reduced to a simple and intelligible form, is an object which all who have considered the subject must earnestly desire, and for which every merchant ought to agitate ; but until this change can be brought about, the proposed Tribunal must of course be guided in its decisions by the law as it now is, and cannot adopt or have tacked to its con-

* *Commerce of the World*, page vi.

' stitution any foreign Code, such as the Code Napoleon, which has been suggested. One of the first duties of the Tribunal would, however, be to draw up a local Code, specifying the customs of this port in all questions of trade, and which should thereafter be considered as the implied understanding between merchants, when there was no express stipulation to the contrary."

This task of drawing up a "Code," not of all laws, but simply of the customs and usages of the port of Calcutta, a committee of the Chamber of Commerce is now engaged upon: when completed it will form a valuable guide and groundwork for the future Mercantile Law of British India, which it will be the object of the present agitators to obtain from the Supreme Legislature.

Whether the Calcutta Chamber has yet agreed as to the constitution of the proposed Tribunal of Commerce does not appear, though the printed opinions justify the impression that they are disposed to favor the Maltese form. Before maturing their plans we would suggest to the merchants of Calcutta the propriety of placing themselves in communication with the Chambers of Bombay and Madras, with a view to unity of action. Their position and requirements are identical: their proceedings should be equally so. Union is strength, in things commercial, as well as in politics.

The following appears to be the constitution of the French Commercial Tribunal :—

" Each Tribunal is composed of a President, Judges and public officers, the numbers being fixed according to the amount of business. The members of the Tribunals are elected at a meeting of the principal merchants. Government does not interfere in the election, but it is from the Government that the members receive their official recognition as judges. Only merchants can be elected. The election is by ballot. The President and half of the Judges are elected to serve for two years: the remaining half are elected annually.

" The President and Judges are eligible for re-election. To each Tribunal Government appoints a register, who records the minutes of proceedings, and bailiffs who assist the Court generally, and in carrying out the judgments of the Tribunal. The Tribunals take cognizance of all disputes between merchants, and with reference to all matters concerning Commerce.

" The Tribunals give their decisions "en premier ressort," in which case the litigants have the liberty to appeal to a higher Court—or "en dernier ressort," where the parties applying for the decision of the Tribunal waive all right and intention to appeal. The decisions of the Tribunals are carried out under the usual provisions of the Law Courts."

The total number of these Tribunals in France is two hundred and twenty. The judges in these vary in number from one to ten. Those of Paris and Lyons have each ten. Eight Tribunals have six judges, one has five, ninety-six have four, one hundred and six have each three judges, whilst only seven have two each.*

The chief feature in the proceedings of these bodies, next to their practical nature, is the rapidity with which they despatch business. The utmost time allowed for a defendant to appear in Court is twenty-four hours, whilst in cases of urgency one hour only is permitted. It is on record that upon one day in 1848, the Tribunal of the Seine disposed of upwards of one hundred cases.

In Bankruptcy cases the celerity of these Courts is not less remarkable. Between the years 1836 and 1850, not less than 664,516 decisions had been given, which shews an average of 44,301 judgments in each year.

This rapid despatch of business, combined with soundness of judgment, is, of all qualities, the most needed in the adjudication of commercial cases. Whether the matter in dispute refer to freight on some homeward-bound ship, to up-country transactions, or to a contract for produce deliverable for shipment, the urgency of despatch is equally felt. Considering the moral obtuseness of nearly all the native contractors, brokers and other dealers with whom merchants, both European and Asiatic, are of necessity brought into contact, a tribunal of men of honor and ability is even more needed here than in the West. The very presence of the remedy, so swift and sure in its operation, would go far to act as a check on much of the unfair dealing so common in the trading cities of the East.

It would seem that the Tribunals of Malta are those most adapted to the requirements of Indian communities. In each of these bodies there is one permanent judge, assisted by two merchants, the judge receiving his appointment from the Government. The mercantile members should of course sit alternately, and these would comprise both European and native merchants, as well as the members of the Trade Association, who would be selected by a list similar to that for the Grand Jury. It is true, we have not here any class of retired or half-occupied merchants, as may be found in most European cities; but the attendance might be made to fall sufficiently light to prevent the duties becoming a tax on busy men. We believe that the presence of a legal member in the Tribunal, either as an associated judge, or as

* Commercial Law of the World, page 13.

a professional adviser, would tend to assist its operation by keeping usage and law in unison.

To what value such a Court should possess the power of adjudicating, either by summary process or subject to appeal, together with other details of the question, opinions may differ; though they will readily find a solution when the time for a decision arrives. By far the most difficult and important task will be the codification and adjustment of the law commercial; ridding it of all needless technicalities and obscurities, and bringing it more into unison with the enlightened spirit of the times. It was not long since that Promissory Notes were declared by our judges to be not legal instruments, and to the present day, Letters of Credit are mere waste paper in the eye of the law, whilst Bills of Lading are decided not to be negotiable documents.

The general term Commerce may include internal as well as external trade, viz., banking in all its phases, transactions between the manufacturer or importer and the home retail dealer, as well as foreign exchanges, brokerage, &c.

The regulations which govern the former class of transactions are part of the municipal laws of the country, whilst the latter are no less international in their character, and a part of that common law of the world which over-rides, and is superior or at least paramount to the peculiar laws and usages of any nation or people, knowing no geographical or social limit, the instinctive dictates of conscience felt and recognised by the universal family of mankind.*

Our courts have occasionally, when a modification of local domestic law is called for, to refer to the positive and municipal laws of other countries, and this occurs much more frequently in commercial disputes than in any others.

The true merchant is of no country: wherever human enterprise may be developed, expanded and realised by commercial intercourse, there is the merchant's home.

If this be so,—and who denies it?—how can any merely municipal tribunal, bounded in its views, its rules, in its origin and its institution, to the wants and intercourse of one people, of a fraction of the human family, suffice to arrange, to interpret, to carry out mercantile transactions?

Is it fit that the discussion of them should be trammelled by peculiarities of local procedure, by artificial distinctions between law and equity, by maxims of mere local policy, by the appliances in fact of positive municipal laws? The Code of Commerce should surely be independent of, or at least collateral

* Sir J. McIntosh on Commercial Law.

to these; with a court, a system, a procedure of its own,—comprehensive, simple, expeditious, and in its aspect universal, international.

Before leaving this subject we would add a few words concerning the legal value of custom or usage. Local usage is a matter of *fact*, not of law: at the same time the law sets bounds to custom and usage; and very properly so. The broad principles of commercial law are fixed and determinate, and can no more be opened or unsettled by an enquiry into the usage or practice of merchants, than the law of inheritance can be defined anew. Whenever a new question arises, depending upon the course of mercantile practice, the custom is of course receivable in evidence. But, generally speaking, we may say that the rules by which the law determines upon the reasonableness of any local usage or custom can be learnt only by a diligent study of the principles on which our jurisprudence is founded. Hence it is that we advocate the appointment of a legal member of all Commercial Tribunals in India.

Besides general customs, there are *particular* or *local* customs. These may be defined as usages which have obtained the force of law, and are in truth the binding law within a particular district or at a particular place. Sir W. Blackstone tells us that a custom, in order that it may be legal and binding, must "have been used so long that the memory of man runneth not to the contrary."* A custom, to hold good, must also be reasonable, or rather not unreasonable: a custom is not unreasonable, though it is prejudicial to the interests of a private man, if it be for the benefit of the commonwealth.† It must also have existed without interruption, and must not run counter to any other custom or usage in the same place.

With regard to mercantile contracts, it is laid down as a general rule, that they are to be deemed contracts of the place where they are made, unless they are positively to be performed or paid elsewhere. A policy of insurance executed in England on a French ship for a French owner, on a voyage from one French port to another, would be treated as an English contract, and in case of loss, would be treated as an English debt.‡

Foreign jurists contend that contracts made between two foreigners in a foreign land, should be construed according to the law of their own country, when they both belong to the same country; but some controversy has arisen as to whether the law of the domicil of the debtor or creditor ought to prevail. When a

* Blackstone's Commentaries, p. 76.

† Broom's Commentaries on the Canon Law, p. 15.

‡ Storey's Conflict of Laws, p. 375.

contract is made in a country between a citizen of that country and a foreigner, it is admitted that the law of the place where the contract was made ought to prevail, unless the contract is to be performed elsewhere. By the Law of England and America however, every contract, by whomsoever made, is held to be governed by the law of the place where it is made, and is to be executed: and where its execution is to take place in another country, it must be governed by the laws of the place of performance.*

In a port such as Calcutta, Bombay or Madras, it will readily be imagined, that the large number of vessels frequenting them, give occasion to many questions of dispute between the masters and their crews, or between the agents and commanders of ships. Cases of a more weighty nature even must often arise, calling for the jurisdiction of the Court of Admiralty, all of which might at once be referred to a Tribunal of Commerce. Questions arising out of Bottomry-bonds, salvage, collision, freight, wages, contracts, charters, &c., on all these and many others differences are constantly arising, and in no description of cases can we conceive it possible to desire more ready and speedy decisions untrammelled by technicalities, than in matters relating to ships and their navigation. How often is injustice yielded to rather than delay a vessel in a distant port, where detention is so ruinously costly?

The question altogether is one well meriting the fullest consideration of Government, who are indirectly as much interested in the just settlement of mercantile questions as merchants themselves. The executive, indeed, should deem it a privilege to have its judicial functionaries freed from the onerous task of wading through cases, the technicalities of which are as foreign to their practice, as the merchant's calling is to their own profession. So far from ermined justice shewing jealousy towards a practical Commercial Court, it should lend its best energies to bring these Tribunals into operation in every Indian port.

* Storey's Conflict of Laws, Chap. viii., p. 375—6.

ART. IV.—1. *The Times Newspaper.*

2. *The Overland Mail.*
3. *Hansard's Parliamentary Debates.*
4. *Thacker's Overland News.*

WE are constantly hearing and saying that India has been brought nearer to England, and we are content to believe it. Yet we are, as constantly, meeting with evidence to show us that India is still as far off as ever. The truth seems to be that while in outward and material things, India is three-fourths nearer to England than it was thirty years ago, in thought and in virtual, inward connection, it is just where it was. Or, perhaps, it would be more correct to say that it is England and the English that have been approximated to India and its inhabitants and sojourners, while India, to most Englishmen at home, is still almost the India of Hastings and Burke.

So clear to every one is the fact of *our own* proximity to home, that we should feel some apology due for at all dwelling on the subject. We have news five weeks old, laid once every fortnight on our tables. We have two easy modes of proceeding home across the continent; and, with a little more enterprise, we might have two modes of crossing the Indian Ocean. Time and space, though not annihilated, nor even contracted to their shortest span, have been considerably reduced. We hope for a railway that shall bring Bombay and Calcutta within three or four days of each other. We talk of a Sub-marine Telegraph, a Railway down the valley of the Euphrates, a fast set of Steamers in correspondence with the railway, or, for invalids and children, a journey round the Cape of twenty-five days, in vessels of positive comfort and tremendous horse power. Civilians and military men recruit themselves with one year in England, instead of unprofitably dozing away two years at the Cape. The merchant, leaving Calcutta after the indigo in which he is "interested" has sprouted from the ground, is back at his desk just in time to know that the blue cake is selling well at the auction mart. The lawyer leaves his clients in April, and finds them undiminished in the following December. Even a hard-worked Editor can get away for six months, and those who do not, think that they catch a real glimpse of England in the latest fashions and the newest books.

Yet it is not too much to say that all these advantages are mainly on one side. We, here, retain our hold on England. England has now no firmer grasp, no more vivid conception, no more real knowledge of India, than she had before the intro-

daction of steam. With this frequent intercourse, these fine vessels, the constant crowd of passengers, with the great wars, the wise measures, the occasional blunders, the triumphs of statesmanship of the last few years, England barely advances one single step towards intimate acquaintance with India. We are speaking from no vague theory, nor imperfect acquaintance, but from an experience of nearly three years, in which, by a constant intercourse with men of all classes, the above sorrowful conviction was forced upon us, and we propose to devote a few pages to the consideration of this subject ; as it concerns the successful administration of India both at home and on the spot.

In plain language, we must commence our remarks by broadly stating that the feeling amongst Englishmen generally, whenever India is mentioned, is, either that of extreme apathy, or of extreme ignorance, or sometimes of both. There may be occasions when this stillness is broken by some startling event. A war or a mutiny on the North West frontier affects the funds in the city. The annexation of a new kingdom rouses the anger of philanthropists and the capitalist's hopes. The return of a great statesman, bowed down, it may be, by toil, and weakened by climate, but rendered illustrious by a long catalogue of great wars successfully terminated, of noble reforms vigorously executed, and of prominent obstacles boldly confronted or impetuously thrown aside, may be the signal for an universal burst of acclamation from men of all classes and creeds. On such occasions the apathetic will rouse themselves to listen, and the envious may forget to sneer. But the excitement soon passes away : the statesman retires to the repose which he has well earned : and India rapidly gives way to the affairs of the vestry, the appearance of a new singer, and the vital question of fourteen pence in the pound.

One way of estimating the amount of acquaintance with Indian subjects, generally to be met with in Englishmen, is to consider, in succession, the salient points of English life and society, the Press, the Houses of Parliament, the double Government in Cannon Row and Leadenhall-street, the Town and the Country, the life of Business and the life of Pleasure. We commence with the Press ; and we may fairly ask what paper of influence really throws light on Indian subjects, or treats such questions with the uniform attention and fairness which they deserve ? Of course, the *Times* can always command the best talent available ; and on any important Indian political question, we may look for two columns in which an amount of information, neither scant in itself, nor vastly inaccurate, nor strangely misapplied, shall be presented to English readers in the well-known sounding phraseology and large type. We may also trust this paper to be keenly

alive to the immense value of our Indian possessions, and to be not oblivious of the success of their administration, when compared with crown colonies ; and when not inflamed by passion or distorted by some party views, it will be sure to oppose anything like reckless innovation. Its Indian correspondent, too, has lately been changed with effect. But the *Times* must write on fifty questions besides Indian ones ; and practical men of little leisure, whose reading is confined to a daily canter over its columns, will quicken their pace to a gallop, when India catches their eyes.

The *Examiner*, clever in detecting sophistry, honest in advocating reform, piquant in illustration, pungent in sarcasm, seems on Indian topics to be animated by a malicious, ignorant, uncandid, unenquiring spirit, which assumes every act of our Indian Government to be unjust, every success ill-timed, every triumph a lucky blunder, and every motive impure. The Santals were roused to rebellion by the screws of the revenue officers : the pension to Lord Dalhousie was discussed neither in the spirit of merchants nor of princes, but in that of a retail trader, casting up his accounts. The report of Sir John Lawrence on the Punjab, was a cleverly "cooked" account, drawn up to enhance his own merits ; and the increase of cultivation in the Barree and Chuch Doabs, owing to peace and tranquillity, was nothing else than a presumptuous defiance of the Laws of political economy, and an indisputable evidence of mis-rule ! Yet our readers well know that the laws of the increase and decrease of produce are widely different in Europe and Asia ; and if there is one point, on which Indian administrators are agreed not to quarrel, it is on the inevitable tendency of our occupation of a new province, immediately to increase agricultural produce, to lower the market prices, and thus temporarily to impoverish those who till the soil. The remedy for this state of things lies in railways, roads, and improved water communication, which have now their fair share of attention ; but not in discussing the state of the market at Leia or Sealkote, on the principles which regulate the supply at York or Mark Lane.

Passing from these two papers, we have the *Daily News*, which has of late discussed Indian questions in a more temperate spirit ; the *Illustrated London News*, which confines itself to giving some remarkably correct and spirited sketches of Indian shows or gatherings on particular occasions : the *Press*, which is noted for nothing but ignorant diatribes against every thing done or attempted in India ; and an *Indian Mail*, which is selected as a vent for the insane ravings of the secretary to the Indian Reform association. To what paper, we ask, is a man to be referred

in England, who wishes "to get up" the salient points of any internal Indian reform?

We next come to the Lower House of Parliament. This remarkable assembly is known to contain several first class statesmen, a few hot-headed, unreasonable, and unsound politicians; some "*Brummagem*" philanthropists; a large number of gentlemen, who, whatever be their party, are gentlemen in feeling; and a good many persons, who had much better be attending to the affairs of the counting house or the drilling of turnips. Amongst the above classes, are to be found men qualified to speak and enlighten their audience on almost any topic that comes under Legislative discussion: on the amendment of the criminal code, on the operation of the poor laws, on the administration of our colonies, on the morals of mechanics, on the details of prison discipline, on the mode of conducting correspondence in public offices, on the site of the national gallery, on the best mode of ventilating crowded chambers, on the history of great constitutional questions, on the sale of malt liquor, on the extension of the franchise, on the Law of Divorce, on our relations with the continental powers, on the system of purchase in the army, and on the "self-consumption" of smoke. There are men who have been the captains of ships, and the colonels of regiments: active chairmen of quarter sessions; owners of cotton factories and coal mines; lawyers of extensive practice; diplomats of great skill; and independent gentlemen who have travelled half over the globe. There is rarely an occasion when information on some stirring question will not be furnished by some one, who has considered it in the course of his daily avocations, or who has selected it for his peculiar study. But how different, if the subject be an Indian debate. It may be taken as the rule, that the men who then speak know nothing whatever of India, while the men who know India, are not there to speak. We will go further, and say that, except the Indian question be made a party cry, there is no subject so calculated to empty the benches of the senate. We will take the two debates of the session of 1856,—that on the Nawab of Surat, and that on the Indian budget. A full house assembled to hear the discussion on the first question. Many of the members knew no more of the Nawab of Surat and his pension, than they did of Burke's Nawab of Arcot and his debts: they had never attempted to master the pedigree of the family, the claim to title, or the points of relationship; still less had they considered the constitutional aspect of the proposal, by which it was intended to grant away public revenue by a private bill. It was sufficient for them, as some had the honesty to confess, that the bill was supposed to run counter to the

East India Company, and that it was to be opposed by the eloquence of Sir James Weir Hogg. The bill was passed by men of that particular liberality, which is ever ready to grant away the property of others ; and the House dispersed. A few weeks subsequent to this, the question was—not a tribute to be paid out of a large revenue—not the re-imbursement of one man supposed to have been defrauded—not the grant of an adequate provision for an undisputed title—but, the whole financial statement of a splendid empire,—which would have afforded men really interested in India, a grand opportunity for insisting on due provision for the cheapening of justice, the protection of property, the spread of education, and the extension of roads. On this occasion, we grieve to say, there were not fifty members in attendance. At one time it was positively a question, whether there would not be a count-out. But sufficient men were found to doze and lounge on the empty benches, until the President of the Board of Control had delivered himself of his burden, and a few members had made some desultory and pointless remarks. And yet it was on such a night, with the remembrance of the crush on the bill for the Nawab of Surat, and with the obvious comparison between the interest created by a party and the interest excited by a kingdom, that a gentleman, an ex-judge, who has all the conceit of Lord Erskine without one flash of his oratory, and all the vanity and restlessness of Lord Brougham without one particle of his talent, had the assurance to rise and gravely to congratulate his scant and dreamy hearers on the visibly increased interest which the House of Commons was devoting to Indian affairs, and on the permanent benefits which it was thereby likely to confer on that neglected country !

It is refreshing to turn from this picture of “London Assurance” to the Upper House. There are many men in this assembly, who like those in the Commons, know little of India. But there must generally be two or three men who have filled the highest office in this country, and who, like the Law-Lords on jurisprudence, can speak with all the weight of talent and experience. At this moment, and for the last few years, we have been rather unfortunate in the number of our representatives. There are only two men now in England who have ruled India for various periods. A third, whose local experience was of no later date than the first Burmese war, was for a long time incapable of taking an active part in public affairs, and is just dead. The last retired proconsul is slowly recovering, amidst the anxious wishes of friends and the expectations of the political world, and like Ivanhoe after the tournament, is yet unable to bear his corslet. The other,—earnest, eccentric, with a mind occasionally warped by prejudice, but with

great oratorical talents, and undeniable honesty and boldness, stands alone amongst his peers, to illumine darkness, to check innovation, and to rectify mistakes. By no organ was Lord Ellenborough more roughly handled when in this country, than by this *Review*. Free comments were passed, in an article that appeared thirteen years ago, on his military ardour, his disregard of controul, and his love of display. But he has, of late, on Indian questions, displayed a candour, a sound judgment, and a strong sense, by which his past errors are well-nigh redeemed. He defeated the salt *reforms* of 1853. He shewed clearly the dangerous character of the bill relative to the Nawab of Surat. He has raised his voice against unjust and impolitic reductions in the salaries of the Civil Service—unjust to those who, having lived for ten or twenty years on moderate allowances in the lower grades, now hope to lay by some small provision against retirement; and impolitic, after the grand and sonorous proclamations by which the young men of talent, in every educational institution, were invited to compete, and find, to speak familiarly, that their bread and butter was cut for life. It is literally to Lord Ellenborough that we must at present look for assistance, whenever Indian affairs may occupy public attention, just as the Trojan leader, by the direction of the oracle, looked for assistance to a city founded by his old foes, the Greeks.

Via prima salutis
Quod minimè reris, Graiā pandetur ab urbe.

We look, too, for some help from the old Tory Lords, who, however unfitted to calm the heavings by which England is constantly agitated, are always sure to speak with humanity, with earnestness, and on sound and high principles, as regards the conduct of foreign affairs. We now know that if the wonderful oratory of Lord Lyndhurst,—the Nestor of debate without his love of long stories—is poured forth against that northern power, which, in the words of Sir B. Lytton, “invades its neighbours, and insults the world,” the thrilling tones of Lord Derby’s voice will be raised against those proceedings in China by which humanity has been disgraced, and the British name been tarnished. Indeed, we have long thought that the Tories are far better fitted than the Whigs for the conduct of foreign negotiations, or for the Government of India. The Whig, full of projects of improvement, believes himself urged on by an irresistible destiny, to transmute Hindus into Anglo-Saxons, to set right the time, whenever it be out of joint in Greece or Italy, and to make all people, everywhere, suppliers of cotton or consumers of cloth. The Tory, though resolute to maintain all the landmarks of the constitution in England, has never, that we know of, been an

enemy to civilisation. We could trust his sense of honour to preserve us from either committing or enduring wanton aggression; and we do not think that any fears for the landed interest, or any desire to protect one class at the expense of another, would ever lead him to deny to India, what she really stands in need of, an uniform and consistent code of laws, an education for the million, and an improved system of intercourse by bridges and roads. There would be still hope, we think, for India, under a Tory Government. The gross neglect of the Ministers last year, in omitting even to notice in the Queen's speech, that there was such a thing belonging to England as an Indian Empire, was publicly censured by Lord Derby. But with one or two exceptions, we have no desire to impugn the conduct of any member of the Upper House, whenever their attention has deviated to India. Be their creed what it may, they are men of high principles and lofty ideas, generally possessed of such ample fortunes as to render them independent of place and pension, accustomed by position and training to look with veneration on whatever is old and hereditary, and not likely to sanction important changes anywhere without careful enquiry. Putting aside poor Lord Albemarle, whose nights' rest is broken by the cries of tortured Hindus, and perhaps one or two more, there is no peer who indulges in violent and unsupported declamation; and the Upper House contains no man, we are proud to say, not above the low arts of Indian intriguers, not proof against special retainers in the shape of pearl necklaces, no one to be dazzled by diamonds from Golconda, or to be lured from his duty by the shawls of Cashmere.

Still, with any amount of admission, the absence of persons qualified to speak, in either House, on Indian subjects, is matter for serious regret. A fatality seems to dog the footsteps of those who are. Lord Metcalfe, who, we think, would have soon proved himself master of that calm, sober, and judicial oratory, to which the peers will always listen, never took his seat. The late Lord Hardinge was rarely seen in his place. Lord Dalhousie needs rest. The burden is borne by Lord Ellenborough in the upper, and by Sir James Hogg, and occasionally by Mr. Mangles, in the lower House; and what likelihood is there that ordinary mortals will get up the *pros* and *cons* of Indian revenue, when we find an orator like Mr. Gladstone, and a man of business, earnestness, and experience, so careless in the acquisition of the merest elementary knowledge of India, as to rise in his place, in the face as it were, of a proclamation, and ask the President of the Board of Control, whether the late Persian war was undertaken by the Governor General of India, or by Her Majesty's ministers! If this carelessness is evinced by one of

the first public men of the age and country, what are we to look for in great bankers from the city, heavy squires from the West Riding, and overworked lawyers from the many chambers of Lincoln's Inn?

From the Houses of Parliament, it is but a step to Cannon Row. When this edifice was presided over by Sir C. Wood, we had at least a man who, whatever his special training or aptitude, spared no pains in order to arrive at facts. His interest in India, his capacity for business, were attested by the well known despatch on education, the materials for which were entirely collected by himself and his private secretary, with much deliberation and research. It will be fortunate, if, after his departure, we find in Sir George Clerk a counterpoise to the vagaries of Mr. Vernon Smith. There is a story going the round of the Presidency regarding this functionary, which beats even Mr. Campbell's Bramah locks, and which we have heard on too good authority to be shy about quoting. The President of the Board of Control actually wrote to the gentleman now occupied in reporting on the revision of salaries, to state that it was fully expected that his reductions in the salaries of the Civil Service would cover the whole yearly expenditure on public works—whereas, our readers know well, that were the whole of the Civil Service to serve for twelve months, eating air, without one farthing of pay, the entire pay so deducted would not reach the required expenditure by one-half:—and this is the man who, from family connexion, is set up to controul eighteen men, who all know something of India, to check their benevolence, to limit their honourable efforts, and to spoil their despatches by the insertion therein of ungrammatical English. Of the knowledge of India possessed by the majority of the Court of Directors, who have been here in some one service or other, there can be no question. Whether that knowledge has always been powerfully displayed at the most important crisis, or in the most advantageous manner, may perhaps be doubted. And it is unquestionable that men of the widest experience, the most enlarged sympathies, and the most acknowledged Indian reputation, have not been enrolled as members of the Honorable Court. The wearisome and often humiliating canvass for the votes of proprietors, has proved too much for the tempers of men who had been proof against the innumerable and harassing details of an extensive department or a populous province, whom native intrigue, corruption, or chicanery could not weary out, and who remained contented with the enduring reputation, which the abolition of a cruel rite, a reform in the law, or the transformation of savages into cultivators, had conferred on their names. But even with the omission of such men as Elphinstone, Holt

Mackenzie, and Robert Bird, the Court has always included men of sufficient intelligence, honour, independence, and liberality to have fought a more successful campaign. The position of the court is often awkward or anomalous. The members, anxious to do their duty by India, in its widest sense, are naturally anxious to avoid a direct collision with the power by which they are controlled. They are aware that their best intentions may be frustrated by the pen of an inquisitive clerk or an uninformed under-secretary. They have constantly to bear the odium of political measures, when few of them have read one line of the correspondence by which these measures are enforced, and those who have, have read them to protest. They are thus so often cut off from the knowledge necessary to a good defence, that they omit to defend the cause on which they possess abundant information. We all know the inevitable consequences of letting judgment go by default. Secure in the consciousness of upright intentions, fully aware of the difficulties under which Indian reforms must be carried out, seeing an amount of misery in England amongst the population of great cities, to which India happily affords no parallel, proof against invective, intimidation, or corruption in any shape, the members of the Court look calmly on amidst the long howls of Manchester and the growing thunders of the press. But they seem to have entirely forgotten that a country, where constant political agitation deadens the moral perception, and where quarter is not given to political opponents, is not the best fitted for a display of impassive though virtuous serenity. In England credit is always given to an unrefuted calumny. There is no such thing, in the minds of Englishmen, as the virtue and honesty of public bodies that can or will make no defence. The most sober and unexcitable reason on this subject as Dr. Caius did, when he detected young Simple in his apartment. "Vat shall de honest man do in my closet? dere is no honest men dat shall come into my closet." There can be, similarly, no honesty of purpose, no purity of practice, imputable to men, who when the administration of a fine empire is loudly assailed, have little beyond a calm and impassive demeanour to oppose to repeated charges of broken promises, of violated trusts, of squandered or mismanaged revenues, of wasted provinces, of unjust taxation, of unfinished public works, of a corrupt judiciary, of a weak executive, of abuses that have been too dearly cherished, and of reforms that have been too long delayed. The honest men cannot wrap themselves in their simulated virtue, and are not honest, if they hide in the closets of Leadenhall Street. The answer was not given, because the accused had no answer to give. If there had been a trump card, the adversary's deal would have

been spoilt. If there had been a “smashing rejoinder,” the presumptuous opponent would have been crushed to the earth, or would have sneaked off to the lobby or the back benches in dismay.

So reasons, and not without some foundation, many an English mind. We admit that a full and satisfactory answer was not to be given, or not to be given in one speech, to all the charges of neglect or mismanagement that have been advanced against the Company. There is corruption in the lower officials. There is one law for the rich. There are bands of robbers, whom an unhappy respect for forms, and a vague dread of summary and decisive proceedings, suffer to exist, and to plunder their peaceable neighbours. There are laws with no operation, rivers with no bridges, and provinces with no roads. But while something might have been written or spoken to explain these past laches, or to show that reforms were in progress, at any rate a great deal might have been said to show that something had been really done. But the storm which burst on the Court in the spring of 1853, took them quite unawares. It came like the meteor, so finely described by Burke, as preceding the invasion of the Carnatic by Hyder. It hung for a while on the horizon, which it blackened, and then suddenly bursting, poured down the whole of its contents. All the “horrors of the two last renewals of the charter, were indeed mercy to that new havoc.” The “universal storm of fire,” if it did not sweep away every landmark, robbed the Directors of one of their most valued privileges and their finest patronage, and left them in a condition from which even their warmest supporters cannot derive much hope. If the question be asked, what should the Court have done? We answer,—anything, something, rather than have disregarded the almost unanimous voice of the press. It would have been far better to have printed pamphlets, to have penned leaders, even to have subsidized newspapers, and to have flooded the tables of Editors with selections from their copious archives, than to have remained quiet and have done nothing. We do not, of course, forget the excellent work of Mr. Campbell, and the earnest advocacy of Mr. Kaye. But what was wanted then, and is wanted now, is some organ of public opinion, which, not merely at a crisis, but in ordinary dull life, shall make it its business to explain Indian questions in English language, to refute absurd calumnies, and to urge on Indian reforms, with that temperate language and sound logic which never fail ultimately to secure attention and respect. Men of every other interest, party, section, corporate body, religious association, throughout the length and breadth of England, have their mouth-piece. India, with all its advantages, has none whatever. It is a losing

game to be silent where all are talking, to be inactive where all are at work, and to wear your sword in the scabbard, while others are eagerly parrying or giving blows.

But there are other points for consideration, besides past injury inflicted on India by inactivity or silence. We have been arguing on the assumption that the government by the Court of Directors, with all its drawbacks, has been productive of real good to India; has approved, enforced or originated many sound measures, and has stood firm against the ignorance or the presumption of Cannon Row. But it can escape no one that, shorn of its privileges, limited in its sphere of action, a mark for the factious and the discontented, the Court now commands less of confidence than it did before 1853. The question of the double government has been thoroughly discussed. The wisdom of an arrangement, which was sanctioned as a concession to avoid greater changes, is again constantly questioned. Men, averse to innovation, are to be found speculating on the propriety of abolishing the Court, and appointing an Indian Minister, with a Council of twelve, who should tender him useful advice and meet with only reasonable check. This plan, it is said, would save time and money, and would let the public know who was really responsible for the commencement of a war that never should have been undertaken, or for the stoppage of works that had suddenly been brought to a stand. As to the question of time and money, there is no doubt that we should save both. It may seem anomalous that every letter from any functionary whatsoever, on any trivial subject, which reaches any one of the subordinate governments, or the government of India, containing the most superfluous information, or relating to a matter which will be forgotten in twenty-four hours, should be sent home in triplicate; that grey-headed clerks and intelligent directors should pore over the substance of every document so transmitted: that notes and pencillings should be made on each separate paragraph; that questions should be asked, past correspondence be referred to, and sanctions be gravely accorded to expenditure long since made, to the repairs of a Thannah in Rohilcund, to a line of extra runners during the rains in Eastern Bengal, or to the white-washing of a public building in a remote part of Arracan. Some people, we say, may think, that supervision even to this extent is too dearly purchased. Still there must be supervision somewhere; and the Court may truly say that to leave Indian Governors the power of making selections from their correspondence, and of transmitting home only such portions as they think expedient or necessary, would be virtually to abdicate the duty of check, and might, in the hands of unscrupulous individuals, become the means of oppres-

sion, injustice, and fraud. So, to be sure, of any one document, the court must have all. On the other hand, the court most wisely and justly refuse to listen to any representation from any party, be he who he may, or wherever he may reside, who has not submitted his case through one of the local governments in the East. But that a copy of every document perused in Leadenhall Street, should be sent to the west end of London, that on its arrival there, we should have the same laborious process of analysis, enquiry, reference to past correspondence, and "pencilings by the way," that young clerks, never in India, should bring the characteristic modesty of their age and station to enquire into Indian mis-doings, or that a secretary from Ireland should overhaul the revenue administration of the late Mr. Thomason, that 'notes' and 'precis-writers' should again be in the ascendant: and that an unlucky draft should be sent backwards and forwards, three or four times, from one body to the other, before it can be approved—is, to us, one of the Eleusinian mysteries of government. All the weight of character, and all the known ability, of some men who still adhere to this cumbrous method of doing business, fail to convince us that it is incapable of change. Something might be said on the other hand if this double government tended to fix responsibility. But it is almost universally agreed that it tends to create confusion. No one knows to whom blame and praise are respectively due. A director in the court of proprietors, darkly hints that the wishes of the President of the India Board must be consulted. Mr. Vernon Smith, in the Commons, does not appear to be conscious, whether in defending himself, he is attacking or defending the Court, or whether it is his proper cue to do the one or the other; all is uncertainty and doubt. Give us a responsible minister. Sweep away the present Court of Directors, appoint some qualified assessors or councillors, and, it is said, all will be smooth. This might be very well if we had a 'material guarantee' for the experience or talent of the minister, or a certainty that the councillors would always be wisely chosen, and would remain long at their post. But it is known that difficulties have already arisen in the working of that part of the charter which gives the ministry power to elect six of the directors. A director soominated, holds office for five years. This plan has given us some very good men in the court, whom we certainly should not have had so soon, or not have had at all, through the votes of the Proprietors. It may be very consistent with the power to nominate originally, that there should be the power virtually to dismiss, by refusing to renew the nomination. But may not this be conceding too much to the minister, and leaving too little freedom of action to the Council? Independence is not

quite unassailed, when the chief executive nominates his councillors. What then is to be the tenure or length of office? What, if the councillor should be honest and independent, and the minister incapable and obstinate? What if the nominee finds it absolutely incumbent on him to oppose an unjust war, to protect against a pitiful attempt at economy, to question the necessity of suspending an important reform? Is India to lose the benefit of his services, because he has the sounder views and the larger experience? Or, should the selection be unfortunate, is the minister not to have the power of getting rid of a councillor, incapable through advancing age, or wrong-headedness, or any other cause? Then, are the persons selected for the office, to have the power of holding seats in Parliament? If they have not, their pens may be worn to the very stump, but the bad measure may pass, because their tongues are silent, and the iniquity is not exposed. If they are to sit in the House, are they to be considered like the under-secretaries to government, who can only speak on certain subjects, and then at the bidding of their chief? Or are they to have full freedom of thought and expression? And in that case, may we not have the spectacle of a minister for India opposed vigorously by his own subordinates,—Actæon baited by his own hounds? Yet, it can surely never be taken for granted that the minister will always be the man most fitted for his post. What well-wisher to India would contemplate that country, bound and deliberately handed over to the gentleman who now fills the post of President, the Court or Council gagged, the rest of the ministry occupied with their own departments, the public indifferent, and the press mute? We recommend those who wish the abolition of the Court as at present constituted, seriously to consider the details and working of the plan which they will give us in its stead. The Directors, it is true, do not command universal confidence. They have not the position in general estimation, to which they are entitled by their experience, their honesty, and their rectitude of intention; but they do know what they are writing about; they constantly act as a safeguard: and absurd as the system of election by proprietors may be, it still leaves the elected directors more independent than those nominated by government, and quite as independent towards the proprietors, as one half the members of Parliament can be with regard to their own constituents. It has been predicted by a foreigner of much talent and observation, some time resident in this country, that fifty years will be the longest limit of our retention of India, whenever it shall have been handed over to an unfettered minister of the Crown. Those who, from discontent with the present system, or from consciousness of its evils only, are anxious to

sweep away the double government, are bound to substitute in its place a single government, that shall combine the essentials of positive independence, talent, and freedom of action, with harmonious working and with constitutional checks ; and this, we submit, is what we have not yet before the public..

Our whole argument, in fact, is reduced to this : we advocate the present retention of the Court of Directors, until, at least, the English public shall know something more of India, because we have not confidence in the capability of any single individual to conduct its affairs, and no certainty that any Council of men selected by the ministers, will be organised on the soundest principle, invested with the requisite power of action, or empowered to make the intentions of government known. If anything is to be abolished, we would rather see the whole establishment of Cannon Row swept into the Thames, and the Indian minister, aided by a good private secretary, left to regulate all important changes, and to sanction all new measures, while the members of the court, in their various marine, revenue and Judicial committees, were left to "revise" and "approve" and "remark on" the mass of papers which represent eight-tenths of the current business of the empire. We write this in no desire that the key of knowledge of India should rust. There is some safety for that country in the usual apathy and ignorance of Englishmen at home, and in the gradual though sometimes tardy reformations of Englishmen, of whatever profession or opinion, who are working away in their vocation. There would be abundant safety for it in diffused knowledge, constant intercourse, and familiar observation on the part of Englishmen generally in England. But there can be no hope in the crude, hasty, spasmodic, attempts at reform, which are made from sheer recklessness, at odd times, to serve the commercial or the political purposes of a class. We cannot trust individuals or bodies to legislate off-hand for us on these points ; and thinkers or writers here must be strangely mis-informed on the conduct or character of some well-known public speakers, if they believe that India can be safely entrusted to the Right Honorable the member for Kidderminster, as a man, who with all his talents, is ever likely to command the house, or is calculated to win confidence and respect from the community at large.

We turn from these points to the society of England in general ; and it is here that we feel how hopeless a task it is to endeavour to excite amongst its members, an amount of interest likely to lead to any one definite result, even though it were a wrong one. Society in England, especially down in the country, is, like society in other places, composed of men and women, rectors and squires, soldiers and men of business, occupied with

their own avocations and cares. Let any one, lately from India, be suddenly set down in any circle, in any part of England, and if by any chance, India should form a subject of conversation, we will venture to say that the remarks of the members of that circle will, in substance, never get beyond the following limit. The lady of the house will ask a few questions about household arrangements, the purveyance of the table, or the facilities of obtaining ice. The squire or country gentleman will manifest a slight anxiety as to the operation of the poor laws in the East. The guardsman or dashing soldier will hazard an opinion that, after a season or two more with the Quorn, he would have no objection to try a month's hog-hunting in the plains, or recruit his finances by a residence in the hills, on the staff of the Commander-in-chief. The Rector, as in duty bound, will wish to know what progress the Missionaries are making with converts, and will gravely refer to Sydney Smith's article in the *Edinburgh Review*, published about the beginning of this century, relative to the danger of Missions. All will remember that they have a relative, somewhere between the Brahmaputra and the Indus, who turns out to be something in connection with the Mairwara Battalion or the Ahmednuggur Irregulars; and it is quite within the bounds of possibility that if the distant relative so enquired after, or any other, were asserted to be, at that moment, holding the responsible office of Collector of window-taxes in the Sunderbunds, some young gentleman, fresh from the latest doctrines of political economy, and with an eye to a seat in Parliament, would at once begin to argue on the cost of collection of such a tax, on the probabilities of its increase, on the amount of disaffection it would generate, and on the propriety or otherwise of excluding heat and light from the dwellings of humble Mohammedans and Hindus.

We entreat our readers and reformers to work out the good measures which they have in contemplation for India without any reliance on the co-operation of Englishmen, as springing from the solid and firm basis of lively interest and real familiarity. India, to speak the truth, has never been a popular subject. It has been the mark for ridicule, for contempt, for philanthropic indignation, and for stupid wonder. The keen satire of one set of men has been succeeded by the hopeless apathy of another, and the stillness has only been partially broken by the misguided and blundering liberality of a third. There have been no popular Indian histories. It is possible that two small volumes, written in the aim and spirit of Mrs. Markham's *France and England*, with two or three dozen wood-cuts, and some accurate remarks about manners and customs, might even now be the first means of introducing boys and masters to the presence of Aurungzebe and

Akbar. Then, when English scholars of taste hear ponderous Germans talk about the treasures of literature concealed in piles of Indian manuscripts, they simply smile and shake their heads. It needs all the classical taste of Mr. Williams, and all the unrivalled type and picturesque illustration of Mr. Stephen Austin, to make general readers cast one glance upon the unique and exquisite poem of *Sakuntala*. It is only on some striking mark of progress, such as Mr. Grant's law for the re-marriage of Hindu widows, that a few thoughtful men will begin to estimate the gradual dispersion of error, from the days when Wellesley prohibited the drowning of infants, to the time when Bentinck forbade the mothers to burn themselves, and down to the present day, when Hindus are eager to ask for the co-operation, instead of resisting the voice, of law. It takes eight years of an administration, at once wise, brilliant and lasting in its effects, to fill a few columns of the *Times*, or a few pages of some popular *Review*—and it is a remarkable fact that the two oldest, most read, and most influential *Reviews* in England, have never devoted ten pages a piece to the consideration of the late reign. Moreover, the omission of men to write at all, and the defects in books that have been written, have not been supplied or corrected by any amount of personal observation. Travellers to India, for mere pleasure, have been few in number. The distance, the length of time, the amount of expense, the possibilities of sickness, have all been against the trip. Those few independent gentlemen, who have surveyed our mankind from Pegu to Cheenee, have of course had their senses gratified and their minds awakened, and it would give us the greatest pleasure to see the whole House of Commons, with the mace and Speaker at their head, sent forth "to do" India, in successive detachments. But, in the absence of this parliamentary commission, it is little that can be effected by scattered testimonies of a few earnest gentlemen, however enriched by illustration, or pregnant with facts. The mass of English householders, of course, may be startled and awakened by the roar of cannon celebrating some Indian victories, or by the lofty and high sounding phrases of the leading journal at the success of some moral or material undertaking, by a *Gazette* publishing honours bestowed by the Sovereign, by the congratulations of the Ministry, by the announcement of the rich and solid banquet which the Court can set before heroes and administrators, to the envy of Aldermen and the despair of Corporations. But the same mass have a great deal too much to occupy them, in domestic cares and ordinary employments, to think of studying, or paying even common attention to, the unfamiliar or uneventful routine of Indian daily history.

We shall scarcely wonder at this, if we consider, whether Indians, on the other hand, are wont to pay much extra attention to the affairs of another colony. There are two subjects to which a man here pays a considerable amount of devotion, unless he be inordinately idle or provokingly dull. These are the details of his profession; whether he be merchant, missionary, civilian, editor, or soldier; and English affairs, political or domestic. The greater part of his energy he expends on his desk or his kutcherry. To these are consecrated his most precious hours, his best talents, his most earnest thoughts, whether he be the expounder of public morality and the critic of statesmanship, or the commandant of a wild and extensive frontier, or the governor of a fertile and a populous province, a pains-taking judge or an active magistrate. The remainder, not to say the refuse, of his time and his talent, is given to keeping up his connection with friends in England, and to retaining that knowledge of English society and life which is so apt to slip away. This will, we venture to say, be found the rule with every man who is not so busied in official papers that he has not time to look around him, or so oriental by long habit as to have ceased to care about the west. But of the most active of the above classes, who labour in their vocations to disseminate truth by writing, or to preserve a frontier from invasion, to root out disaffection by a firm but beneficent administration, to do justice, to get at truth, to proclaim the beauty, the sufficiency, the awful majesty of Christianity, how many are there who can spare time to study the constitution of South Australia, or the internal affairs of New Zealand? How many are there, to come a step nearer, who feel a "deep and lively interest" in the proceedings of the Legislative Council at Colombo, or care whether the estimate be or be not sanctioned for the great coffee-trunk-road from Wauk Welle to Pussilava? We will come nearer still, to countries inhabited by similar populations, governed professedly on the same principles, ruled by the same viceroys, and subject to the same laws. We mean the different presidencies of India. Does the collector of the southern Concan care whether Cawnpore be too highly taxed, or feel himself at all called on to discuss the provisions of the new sale law for the preservation of under-tenures in Bengal? Has the Deputy Commissioner, if assured of the quietus of Fuzzul Alee, much speculation for the probable rise of the Moplahs? Is it not the general complaint among men who take a wide and comprehensive view, that Madras feels itself aggrieved by the systematic neglect of its interests by Bengal, that Rohilkund has no sympathy with Tanjore or Tellicherry, and that the amount of knowledge possessed by the resident in one presidency of the affairs of another presidency, is small

originally, and has never increased in value or amount? With this admission, can we wonder that men in England, some of whom have too much business, and others have no business-habits, can barely rouse themselves to consider, whether they have any clear ideas about India at all? Of course, there is an obvious difference between the affairs of our best colonies and those of India. Whether we should lose or gain by the defection, or independence, or transfer of some of our colonial possessions, may be an unsettled question. We might, perhaps, be well rid of some barren and costly islands. We might, for a season, feel the loss of others, like the loss of a limb, and yet recover our pristine vigour in a short space of time. We might see with tacit acquiescence, if not with applause and admiration, wastes converted into corn fields, republics rising out of settlements, the wealth of a new Liverpool, the learning of a second Oxford, the oratory of the senate, the eloquence of the bar, flourishing in the ~~metropolis~~ and cities of a country, once a mere appanage, now an independent kingdom, redundant with the vigour, the lusty health, and the life-blood of the Anglo-Saxon race. We might look on the spectacle with an eye of affection and regard. But, as we all well know, the loss of India would be very differently felt. We have not yet reached the point, where civilization emanating from the centre, rushes to the extremities, and gives vitality and energy to the whole frame. If we withdraw, the empire collapses in anarchy, or, grasped by another foreign power, is speedily reduced to the dead level of despotism. But we believe that this truism is the subject of a cold, passive acknowledgment, not of a vital belief, in England. In fact, it has been well said that the study of India there will be thoroughly commenced, when, by some act of folly, we shall have gambled India away. The real value of this acquisition, like that of so many others, will only be felt after the loss.

Something of this feeling may explain, why the system of competition for the civil service, of so many proud vaunts, of such fond expectation, and of such felicitous augury, has not called forth the overwhelming amount of talent that was anticipated. It was said that competitors would rush to Cannon Row in crowds. It was asserted in print that no examination hall would contain one quarter of the number of candidates. And it was gravely recorded by Mr. Macaulay and his colleagues, that this splendid field of promise would effect an important change in the whole system of education, at the Universities and elsewhere. We neither object to a fair trial of the open system; nor do we deny that, to all appearance, we have already secured several new members of much promise, while we have certainly excluded positive dullness and incapacity. But it is equally true, on the

other hand, that writers who looked for most brilliant and startling results, have not scrupled to confess their disappointment at the decreasing number of candidates ; while the same persons are perplexed at still hearing complaints of hard times, choked professions, avenues to progress and eminence barred, and men of good education, and more than average merit, sitting briefless in chambers, or scribbling in Grub street for a dinner. How is it, these persons say, that while we hear and see such repeated proofs of the various professions at home having more members than they can feed, we do not find a much larger proportion of young men willing and eager to come to India ? Whence the loud cry for bread on the one side, and the few hands stretched out to take it when offered on the other ? For it is indisputable, that men are coming up by tens and twenties, and not by hundreds, for the civil service, and that the attraction of novelty has worn away, the competition, if it ever was such, is now no longer either "liberal or large." We think that we can explain some of this apparent inconsistency. The cry of over-stocked professions, and of the weight that presses on unaided merit, is raised by men who have tried one particular line of life and have failed. Such men have first tasted with eagerness the sweets of learning ; they have, with keen relish, enjoyed intellectual society and animating competition at either University ; they have then, after entering on real life, gradually experienced the bitter conviction that a combination of many things, of merit, of fortune, of chance, of patronage, is indispensable to success, and after a few years of unrequited toil, they have at last settled down to the belief that India had, perhaps, better things for them than had been dreamt of in their philosophy. Ask such men at the age of thirty if they would proceed to India, and they would answer in the affirmative. Ask them at twenty-one, and they would have returned a defiant negative. But this is not the case only under the "open system ;" it was sometimes the case in the old close, snug, comfortable, system of patronage. We could point to several instances, where it needed all the entreaties of friends, all the repeated offers of directors, or all the stern commands of fathers with many children still unprovided for, to make a young man of hope and energy turn his back on England, forego his visions of eminence at the bar or 'utility at the university, and commence an oriental training for a new life. If force was necessary to make some men swallow the good things of life when put straight before them, it may take something more than a mere vague and general invitation to get other men to give up early associations, valued friends, and fair prospects, perhaps undefined, but still long cherished, for hard work in India. The Lotus of India is not like the Lotus which

Homer's eaters devoured, to become oblivious of friends and every thing else in life. Yet it must be universally acknowledged that we want for India, young, educated, and *untried* men,—men who have not yet taken root, as it were, in England, men of early successes and unclouded promise, and not men, past thirty, discontented and restless, with only the experience of failure, and the bitter feeling engendered by protracted justice, and by the hope delayed which makes the heart sick.

We hold the failure of candidates to come up in any numbers to be proved beyond question ; and the explanation of such a failure we take to be the fact, that, after all, India is neither so certain a good thing, nor so attractive to young men of boldness and ability, as to counterbalance all the inconveniences and disadvantages of a residence there. Nor has the conduct of the President of the Board of Control, of late, lent enchantment to the distant view of the East. Whatever may be said of the condition ^{inde} of the finances of the empire, or of the necessity for reductions, the high average of salaries, there is not a word to be said in favour of the policy of making a stir on the subject, just at the moment when a new experiment is on its trial. After the grand and swelling professions of patronage and rich places thrown open to the deserving, comes a cool announcement, that the rich places are to be stripped of all that renders them worth having. Mr. Vernon Smith's conduct is precisely that of a fisherman who one day casts in ground bait, on the most approved Waltonian system, to attract all the roach, dace and gudgeon in any fair river, and the next day, lets a huge pike loose on the same spot to scare them all away. Men naturally reason that, if the salaries are to be reduced, just after the establishment of a new system made with a flourish of trumpets, there is no certainty against a further reduction, ten or fifteen years hence, at the caprice of any minister, who wishes to gain a little popularity, or to answer troublesome questions put in the house by men who know only a little more about India than the minister himself. It is within our knowledge that, a short time ago, a candidate presented himself at the examination, obtained the appointment desired, made some further enquiries relative to his prospects, and then—quietly threw them up. One such defection will probably hinder a dozen vacillating men from coming up at all. Englishmen, we have been arguing, are defective in Indian knowledge, but they are sufficiently well-informed to calculate the chances of such a change of habit and life, as is involved in an Indian profession. There is the undoubted heat, even though we may acquiesce in the opinion expressed by the Family circle in David Copperfield, that India is now much changed, and has nothing to create alarm beyond a tiger or two, and a little

warmth in the middle of the day. There is the long estrangement. There are the chances of sickness or premature death. There is the novelty, which is not always attractive, and the change which frequently disgusts. There are these unpleasant rumours of such a decrease in the emoluments of office, as will leave little beyond a bare independence. And lastly, there is the certainty that, the toil over, the Indian career finished, and the retirement won, there is little or no employment for a man *donatus rude*, in England.

This may be, like other things, the fault of "the system." It may arise partly from the neglect of Indians themselves. But, whether the blame lie with the system or with individuals, the fact remains the same. There is a great difference, too, between an Indian revisiting England for temporary purposes, for the refreshment of mind and body, and the same person settling good there, in country or in town. Putting out of the picture a few grumblers, most men, at home on leave, are men passing the holiday which they have fairly earned. Whatever be the pursuits, be the object philanthropy or amusement, works of art, continental cities, the moors of Scotland, or the glaciers of Switzerland, they manifest a zest and relish of enjoyment which even statesmen after the close of the session, or barristers in the long vacation, do not always evince. It is not unlikely, either, that men who have been for a long time accustomed to discussion, to action, and to the charge of important interests, will find themselves not so very far behind hand in most of the questions of the day. In practical remedies, and in calling things by their right names, in grappling with difficulties openly, they will display a firmness, not to say an audacity, at which many Englishmen will be staggered. Two or three years may be pleasantly spent in locomotion, in sight-seeing, in general enquiry. Every man will, of course, have his own particular experiences to relate, his own circle to enlighten, his own game to follow. One, retaining a hateful recollection of all that is grotesque and repulsive in Hindu sculpture and superstition, barely attracted by the elaborate details of Hindu architecture, and positively unjust to the pointed arch, or the graceful minaret of a race elevated above idol worship, seeks the cities and the churches of Italy, and there, for the first time, learns with rapture, what forms of beauty or manliness can be crowded on bare walls; what magic combinations of shade and colour can be produced on canvass; what additional lustre can be given to spires and domes, in themselves unrivalled, by the unclouded sunshine, and by the pure atmosphere; how creations, seemingly "too fair to worship, and too divine to love," have been left, to the despair of posterity, by men under whose chisel the stone seems to breathe and struggle,

and the brass to speak. There is an education, to be either completed or commenced, in a visit to the land where the beauties of nature are rivalled or exceeded by the creations of art. Another exile continues, during emancipation, his enquiries into the condition of the people, or the effect of legislation, studies the discipline of prisons, tastes the soup of workhouses, by which paupers are supported, and examines the process by which the correspondence of a mighty metropolis is circulated with precision and rapidity, dives into the purlieus of great cities, and becomes familiar with wild haunts of misery and scenes of degradation, which even his imagination had never depicted; and in his varied enquiries, learns with some wonder, that there is no law in England, under which the rich man can purchase by money, release from the wholesome labour, which a sentence of imprisonment imposes on his poorer accomplice;—that there are still where letters are conveyed by a mail cart between two now connected by railway;—that there are country where drowsy clergymen, and more drowsy audiences, themselves by the *old* version of the psalms;—that the counties in England where the tenant of an estate is allowed, under prescription which has the force of law, to worship for one single day or hour, on the estate of another landlord, without the express permission of his own master, or of his local agent, demanded and received;—that some of the streets in the most fashionable and frequented parts of London are in as bad repair as a brick-laid road under the defunct Military Board;—and that the spectacle of country justices in Kent or Essex, sitting in a quorum over some old women brought up for gathering a few sticks, or haymakers absenting themselves for half a day to witness a review of yeomanry cavalry, is not calculated to enhance his respect and admiration for the *Mofussil Law* of Great Britain. Such a man, it is possible, may recall these and other little facts, whenever unfavourable comparisons are made between the tardy reforms of one country, and the full blown civilisation of the other. It is possible, too, that for an ardent and philanthropic individual, the old world may not be a sufficient field. Men on furlough have visited those thirty independent States, which display men at almost every stage of advancement, except the best and highest; and such visitors have learnt something of that fearful problem of slavery, which has puzzled the clearest intellects, and which is hardly to be solved by inflammatory novels, or by passionate appeals. A third individual returns with pardonable enthusiasm to the national fieldsports. In spring, he throws twenty-five yards of line over a clear-running Scotch river, rich in all the beauty which characterises the northern counties of our island: at a later period of the year, his step

and aim are not the least firm and true of the many active sportsmen who seek the purple heather, or the yellow stubbles ; and at a later period still, he must have his ' quick thing ' with "the Baron" or his month with the Quorn. And whatever be his particular avocation, he will scarcely fail to mark the forced struggle for advancement, the narrow incomes, the numberless obstructions, the frequent disappointments of men in active professions at home ; and while he grudges them their unbroken friendships, their family circles with no gaps other than those caused by death, their prospect of distinction, or their present utility, he may return to work with a body renovated, a mind enlarged, and with the quiet conviction, that after all, the evils of India are largely compensated by an amount of real advantage. This is, no doubt, mere fireside philosophy, but it may be made to go a great way.

Identified once retired, the Indian spends a year or two in travel, in visiting his relatives, in selecting a residence and in furnishing recruiting a shattered constitution at German baths, in renewing ties which had almost been parted asunder. For a time things go well. The England of 1857 is still the England of his leave o'er the rough, such as he looked on it twelve or fifteen years before. But after a time, when his health and faculties have been restored, the conviction comes across him, that he is a mere sojourner in the land. There are, of course, instances to the contrary. An eminent civilian attains to a seat in the Direction, by nomination or by canvass. A renowned diplomatist is offered service under the crown. A country gentleman, whose estate, sometime impoverished, had been nursed during his exile, and freed from encumbrances, finds sufficient employment in looking after his tenants, and shows himself, to the amazement of sporting squires, a good shot and an intelligent chairman of Quarter Sessions. Men, not in the Civil Service, have obviously as great or greater chances of occupation. The Privy Council is open to the ex-chief-justice, and to the successful barrister. The one finds employment in pleading, and the other in deciding, cases there. There are pulpits which have long since ceased to resound with eloquence, and churches with empty benches, where the orthodox divine may again attract crowds. The immense experience of an Indian physician or surgeon will find no want of subjects for its exercise, if the love of the profession be still strong. The merchant can join the great house at Liverpool or London, of which he was correspondent branch at Calcutta or Bombay. All find that their previous experience has not shut them out from English business of some kind. But what, with a few exceptions, has the civil servant left for him to try ? He may not be willing to undergo the worry of a canvass for the direction : he may not

have friends to give him service under the ministry: and he may be troubled with doubts as to the propriety of accepting the offer of a smart electioneering agent, who will place a snug borough at his disposal, with only eight hundred constituents, for only the small sum of twelve hundred pounds. So with a sigh he half wishes himself back at his stifling cutcherry. But even with those men of well balanced intellects and wisely moderate desires, who are content to enjoy the society of sons and daughters, and the intercourse with old friends, as the best solace to advancing age, is there no regret at want of employment for the energies which rust from scant exercise, or on account of the varied experience which is literally locked up? We will put it to any one who has enjoyed facilities for this observation, whether he has not known many men, who have run a career in India which stopped short only of the very highest appointments, wandering about England with less of actual employment than one of their own discharged peons or bearers, ~~yes,~~ disbanded sepoy of the 19th, who, at worst, can return to his village in Oude, and guide the plough on the paternoster ~~is~~, ~~is~~, we say, a sight unpleasant but suggestive ~~free~~ ~~see~~ men ~~wor~~ have ruled considerable provinces with firmness and benevolence who have taken part in some great legal reforms carried after years of obstruction, who have linked their names to social measures, the end of which no man can foresee, and who have sound habits of business, admirable temper, and some knowledge of mankind, making hay in the country, or drearily hanging about the precincts of the Oriental Club. To the order "do something," they may naturally reply that they can literally find nothing to do. It is too late to enter any liberal profession. Not one man in a thousand feels himself called on to take holy orders. Very few have either the capital, the connection, or the knowledge, which would make commerce pay. The functions of the civil service in England are widely different from those of India, and in numerous instances are mere dull formalities. The roads to the best places are already beset. Of course, as we said before, there are exceptions to the rule that Indians find it hard to get employment. An ex-member of Council at one of the minor presidencies is pounced on by the ministry, and sent to govern one of their colonies. A member of the Supreme Council becomes Secretary to the Law Commission. To settle a disputed boundary on a disturbed frontier, with a set of savages eager for plunder on the one hand, and a population irritated by losses and thirsting for revenge on the other, the Government at home are but too eager to avail themselves of the services of a man of great activity, of chivalrous feeling, of fascinating manners, of rare tact, and of proved skill in dealing with wild and uncivilized.

tribes. A civilian with an intense love for facts, and a capacity for settling accounts, aided, no doubt, by the influence of an eminent writer, takes his place at the treasury. One of the best judges that ever sat in the Sudder Court does not think it below his dignity to accept a subordinate situation in the India House, which gives him the advantage of moderate employment, and the prospect of being useful. It was fortune, as well as merit, that placed the above men where they were. And the last example is a proof of our argument, that it is no easy matter for retired Indians to find some work to do. For it is not every one that will condescend to do the duties of head-clerk, or of examiner of correspondence; nor is it always that an "outsider" can be brought into a crowded office over the heads of men who have been gradually toiling up the ladder from the limited emolument of two or three hundred a year. There re-

~~out~~ then, little to be done, unless a retired official man should ~~desire~~ getting a seat in Parliament, or writing a book. Now, ~~desire~~ fame, it is obvious that, for success in this line, other ~~desire~~ required besides those which lead to official distinc-

~~rat~~ The ~~has~~ ~~be~~ abundant materials, considerable discrimination, tact, individual action, and something of style. Yet we have often thought that, from amongst the numerous men of all ranks and services who retire after thirty years residence, we might fairly look for some contributions to the stock of Indian knowledge. We are tired of books that profess to give accounts of the "manners and customs" of India, written by men who have resided for a few years or months in one corner of a Presidency, and of travels published solely because so many miles of country had been travelled over, and so many remarkable cities and places had been hurriedly visited. These crude productions, made up of facts mis-stated, of pointless observations, of censures misapplied, and of a few stale anecdotes, current in every Indian circle for years, but put forth as new and original, do but contribute to swell the history of Indian error. Now, if every man, who has resided any time in the interior, would collect scattered information, would note down every remarkable incident of native character, as developed in the Court-house, the Mission, the Factory, or the Bazaar, would fill a common-place-book with any details, of climate, of caste, of agricultural operations, of the habits of the servants and officials that come directly under his own observation, and would put them all together, with only a moderate acquaintance with the art of book-making, we think that, in a few years, a series of works might be produced, which would give to the public a mass of valuable and trustworthy information regarding different parts of this empire. Many a person who, after leaving India, lacks employ-

ment, must have copious details and anecdotes which will die with him, but which, after a little winnowing, could be made public to save others the trouble of going over the same ground. Many a man, in addition to the mass of knowledge collected by intercourse and observation, must also have traversed many parts of the presidencies, and visited the tombs and mosques, the minarets and mountains, the falls, and the passes, the thronged cities, and the regal edifices, which alone constitute India to Englishmen, and without which an Indian book would be thought incomplete. Here, there is one opportunity of which retired Indians might avail themselves. Almost every man, it has been said, can write one book in his life time.

We turn to the other avenue or opening for men of talent and energy, the House of Commons. Many causes, as we have already hinted, combine to render the senate accessible only to few ; one man cannot bear a residence in London ; another hates the excitement of a political canvass. Those who have money do not like to spend it in elections ; those again have no money to spend. Again, all men come to the house in life, with little knowledge of Parliament's proceedings, no ties to bind them to any political party, and with no experience in public speaking. Men do not talk on their legs in India ; they write at desks, and write, as we all know, a great deal too much. Yet there is no question that many of those writers found it once as difficult to write, as they might still do to speak ; and since the opening of the legislative council, an arena for speaking in public has at length been found. Nay, the success of some men in that new arena is undisputed. Lord Dalhousie, we know, expressed surprise and admiration at the straightforward, clear, and practical speaking of Mr. Mills. No man doubts Mr. J. P. Grant's powers as a debater, or can listen without pleasure to his lucid statements, humourous antitheses, and, when occasion requires it, eloquence of a grave and judicial kind. Mr. Colvin can address a public body with animation, and can make the very most of an after-dinner speech. And Mr. Halliday's readiness in conference, and command of language, are beyond all question. That such men, after a little watching of the forms and temper of the house, should not succeed in gaining its ear on Indian or colonial subjects, or on such social questions as they might turn their attention to, is what we are unwilling to admit, until a trial has resulted in failure. Every man, it has been well said by one who can both speak and write, is an orator, whose head is full of facts, and whose heart is warmed with his subject. To a clear exposition, delivered with honesty of purpose and some energy of manner, the "most fastidious assembly in the world" will always lend a

willing ear. The members admire oratory, relish pungent sarcasm and retort, detest a grievance-monger, and will not endure a bore. But a man of earnestness and of information will be listened to with respect, whatever his political creed, or age, or service, or address.

But it is our opinion that, whether from want of unity, or from a vague fear of breaking down in public, or from other causes, Indians have not done their duty in sending men to Parliament to represent India there, and have never taken any decided steps to make known the real wants of the country, and the positive difficulties which beset any Indian administrator. A pamphlet or two may have been written at a crisis, such as the last charter. But generally speaking, Indians act as if their interest in India had ceased with their service. They will pity ignorance, they will ridicule the malevolence, by which an ~~lighten~~^l on the government is directed in the House or by the ~~l~~^l in ~~the~~^{the} press or the *Reviews* with correct information, or ~~identif~~^{ing} with members who really know of what they are ~~mis~~^{ing}.

What we mean is this, that while every other corporate body has some organ to support its views, or some prominent individuals to argue for its interest, India is abandoned to the merest chance. What we wish to see is an Indian Association, not of foolish or dreamy reformers, but of men of sense and practical views. And we think that such an association, comprising the experience of several classes, supported by adequate funds to be devoted to necessary ends, would be the one antidote to the absurd calumnies, propagated with recklessness increasing steadily with the deficiency of knowledge. The association would mainly consist of men, never likely to return again to India, and not therefore actuated by any selfish views. The avowed object of such a society would be to expose ignorance, to annihilate error, and boldly, and *at once*, to disprove a false statement regarding any act of Indian administrators anywhere. It is impossible that presumption and folly could stand for a moment against the quiet influence of truth. There is strength, too, in numbers. A single writer may be anxious to refute a mis-statement, and yet be literally unable to get a hearing through any one public organ in England. We have reason to know that the door may be coolly shut to individuals who, at inconvenient season, are troublesome on behalf of truth. But it is next to impossible, that a body backed by weight, and if necessary, ready to incur expenditure, should not make itself heard and seen. Nor do we see why such a body should not undertake to pay the legitimate expenses of returning to Parliament, such men of Indian experience, as are unable to stand the

cost of an election, and whose support it is worth while to obtain. We have no desire, either, that such an association should be limited to retired officials. It should comprehend all men who, as administrators, pure philanthropists, active speculators, or holders of railway shares, are anxious for reforms, compatible with our position in India. We do not think it a very hard task for men of various experience, if they have common sense, to work together. We have known of cases, where even Mr. Malcolm Lewin and the chairman of the Court of Directors were suddenly found to be not so very far apart—and the most earnest remonstrance against reduction of civil salaries that we have yet heard, came from a gentleman, who had been engaged for years in agricultural or commercial speculations in the interior of Bengal, who knew the quicksands and shoals of litigation in almost every court in a large district, ^{and} has had dealings with functionaries, native and European, every grade, and who had never drawn a farthing from Indian treasury in his life.

Anything, we repeat, is better than inactivity. In such an Association, a dozen pamphlets, some articles in a powerful paper, a few meetings, even a couple of men returned to Parliament, anything, in short, to show a sign of vitality, or a unity of purpose on the part of well-wishers to India. But it is really not fair for men whose active interest in India ceases when they have left the country, to complain of a want of interest in men who have never been there at all, or to cry out that a lost battle in the House of Commons nearly imperilled the safety of the empire, when the battle was lost, like so many others, from sheer want of timely support.

The subject of missions in England was somewhat too serious to be comprised in the preceding article,—but we cannot lay down our pen, without a few words on this point. The ideas of Englishmen on missions in India are vague and ill-defined, like their ideas on Indian revenue, finance, or justice. Yet it is not a difficult matter to get two or three hundred people to listen for a couple of hours on the social status of Hindu men and women, and native Christians, and on the education afforded in the numerous institutions, public and private, of the three presidencies; and considering the intimate connection between the secular life and literature of Hindus, and their sacred literature and religious observances, it is comparatively easy to mingle in an address on missions, such anecdotes of, or remarks on, the natives, as may enliven the discourse, and vary the regular stereotyped enumeration of so many converts added, or so many new mission-houses built. There are many delusions, too, under

which sincere and earnest English gentlemen and ladies are labouring, and from which they require to be sharply aroused. There is a general idea, that India is amply provided with missionaries ; and it is to refute this error, that Mr. Macleod Wylie's work may be circulated and perused with much advantage. Then, people imagine, that the talents and qualifications of a missionary at Raritongo are sure to make him succeed at Benares or Delhi. Little do they know what a scope for talent exists in discussion with the subtle intellects of the Hindu, or in counteracting the intolerant bigotry of the Mohammedan : how the gift of tongues, the knowledge of human nature, the wide sympathy, the winning address, the solid learning, all may be gracefully made the hand-maidens of fervent zeal and piety, in enlightening and reforming a people who are fond of complacently looking back on the departed glories of their civilisation, literature and art. Still less do Englishmen know of the varied channels of missionary enterprise is directed,—the education of the constant discussion, the preparation of works in the available dialect of the Indian peninsula, and the sending in the boat in the cold season. On these subjects, the smallness of missions, the immense tracts still unprovided for, the varied and often harassing duties of a missionary, his exposure to climate, and his trials of all sorts—the English mind wants a good rousing. Above all, Englishmen should be asked to recognise the great fact, that India is ours, and ours alone. We may do well to send a chosen band to countries where we have not an acre of ground, and scarcely any political or commercial relations—but we are ten times bound to give an adequate supply of labour for India—for there the field is all our own. This support must not come from the government, but from the nation. The extension of missions, and a true appreciation of their wants and schemes, in a country where we are the rulers, should be not a bureaucratic, but a national end.

ART. V.—1. *Parliamentary Papers from 1776.*

2. *Selections from the Records of the Government of India, and the Governments of Bengal, Madras, Bombay, the North West Provinces, and the Punjab.*
3. *Reports of Administration of the Government of India, and the Subordinate Governments, (1857.)*
4. *Reports of External Commerce ; Bengal, Madras, Bombay and Straits Settlements.*
5. *Bell's Review of External Commerce of Bengal, 1830.*
6. *Bell's, Wilkinson's, and Bonnau'd's Annual Views (or Commercial Annals), 1833 to 1856.*
7. *Mackay's Western India.*
8. *Journal of the Agricultural Society of Bengal.*
9. *Royle on the Cultivation of Cotton in India ; Fibrous Plants of India.*
10. *Colonel Baird Smith's Reports on the Cauveri and Godavery.*
11. *Colonel Cotton on Public Works in India.*

IF we could conceive a wise and benevolent stranger visiting this earth, and with comprehensive faculties surveying and considering the position and the relations of its various wide dominions, we might suppose him chiefly engaged with that small Island whose authority reaches from the rising to the setting sun, and from which radiates universally the influence of freedom, of commerce, and of Christian Missions. And in all her history and all her present power, one thing, above all, would command his attention. He would see her as the mistress of India : of India in all the vastness of wealth and population,—of India as her conquered but neglected empire : India, her glory and her shame.

It would not be difficult to show that all our colonies, however poor and however distant, have received more favor and more attention than India. From every colony settlers have returned to advocate its special interest ; for every colony a constitution

N. B.—It will be readily perceived that this paper was written before the out-break of the present extraordinary insurrection. As the writer believes that, with God's blessing, the results of this wild movement will be the firmer establishment of British Supremacy, and immense advantages to India from the increased attention of England to her Government, he leaves the article as it was written, to exhibit the position we occupied a short time ago, and to point to the prospect which again will speedily lie before us.

has been provided, animated by the spirit of British laws. Wisely or unwisely, the old favorite motto, "ships, colonies and commerce," led for a long series of years to protecting laws, discriminating duties, and lavish fostering grants of public money; and the colonies, again and again, and year after year, were forced on public attention by violent party conflicts, till at length their management became the test of statesmanship. But it has been the custom, ordinarily, to notice India once only in twenty years. Then a "Charter" was discussed and granted, and the liberty of further discussion was handed over to an unnoticed Court of Proprietors, and the functions of government, with the patronage of the empire, were transferred to a Court of Directors. If Europeans came to India, they usually came out under the auspices of that body, and quitted the country identified in interest, in sympathy, and in prejudice with their

Evidence was indeed taken, as the end of each twenty
"attached ; but nearly all who were examined viewed
Chin. in the same stand-point, and spoke of peace, happiness
proprietary at And thus Charters were renewed, and India
left at a delegated authority ;—the conscience of the
state cleared the transfer of responsibility ; and till the next
time for renewal came, the favored Company might safely trust
to party conflicts on other matters, to distract attention from
India.

Perhaps, in India, we sometimes thought it strange: strange that so little should be said of the condition of a hundred and seventy, or perhaps, two hundred millions of people, entrusted to the stewardship and government of Britain by Him who "made of one blood all nations." We did indeed think it right that, in 1793, the Parliament of England should solemnly declare, "That it is the peculiar and bounden duty of the Legislature to promote, by all just and prudent means, the interests and happiness of the inhabitants of the British dominions in India, and that, for these ends, such measures ought to be adopted as may gradually lead to their advancement in useful knowledge, and to their religious and moral improvement." But we may be excused if some of us have thought it strange that, while there have been some enquiries as to the functions of the various departments of Government, as to the Revenue, the Debt, the Army, the constitution of the Court of Directors, and the like, so very little care has been taken to ascertain what has been done in these last sixty-four years to promote those interests, and that happiness, which were apparently so much a matter of concern to the illustrious men who formerly adorned the House of Commons. And, if we descend to details, we may possibly find still greater reason for surprise. If for instance, the sugar duties were discussed, with the prospect of the supply

of sugar to Europe and America becoming one of the most important of all commercial subjects, we might very reasonably have expected the claims and resources of Brazil and Cuba to be balanced against those of the British West Indian Colonies, and that the debates should be warm on the respective merits of free-labour and slave-labour sugar, with all the correlative topics of protection and free trade: but we might also reasonably have looked for an adequate apprehension of the most weighty element in the whole case—the claims, namely, of India, with a population vastly greater than that of all South America and the West Indies taken together, with resources to which neither Brazil nor Cuba can offer any comparison, and with unmeasured capabilities and facilities of extended commerce. In like manner with other subjects. A Law Commission was issued in 1833; for the Board of Control of that day, and the Committee of Enquiry, which had enquired into affairs in Parliament, consisted of very able and far-sighted men. After its appointment other influences intervened, ~~and~~ ⁱⁿ India. orders were sent out to the Supreme Council of India to pass into laws any of the measures prepared ~~and~~ ^{and} adopted, and that Commission was then suffered to terminate and expire. We might well then be surprised that these facts should be unnoticed at home, and that the British Legislature, when at length, in 1852, it discovered that it had thus been defeated, should be then contented, tamely, and without censure of any one, to begin again to try to secure some of the same judicial reforms, of which the necessity was admitted twenty years before, but which ever since had been utterly neglected. And so as to trade. England began to rouse herself to a new system of trade, and a new style of enterprise, full thirty years ago: since that time, step by step, she has advanced, projecting railroads; plying steamers to distant lands; in Canada, in Australia, and New Zealand, pursuing colonization with unexampled ardour and success; wonderfully enlarging her manufacturing power; encountering improvidence by new poor laws; remodelling her whole fiscal system; and spreading education and religious knowledge among the people. India might be safely supposed to be contemporaneously advancing too; and indeed her superiority to any colony in prosperity, and in the nature and in the beneficence of her Government, was usually a matter of boast. It was said that there were expensive and noble public works, and that there were large cash balances in the various treasuries; and there were members in the House of Commons to rebuke any suspicions or doubts of the paternal influence of the British Government, or of the contentment of the population. We, who lived here, might be surprised at this, if we knew of there being only one road worth the name in Bengal; if we had

reason to believe the stories about torture, which were denied at home ; if we knew that, except in the case of the Ganges Canal and the works in the Punjab, the extensive public works prior to 1854, were simply repairs of jails, court houses, and public offices ; if we suspected that the large balances declared to be in the hands of the Government were unsubstantial ; if we knew that money, which was wanted in India, was kept at home, to an extent far beyond any probable (we might perhaps say, possible) wants of the Home Authorities ; and if we looked round in vain for an energy, earnestness, and public spirit, corresponding with that which was rapidly elevating our native land.

But, further, we now think it strange that, when in 1852, a ship, a lapse of twenty years, the enquiry into Indian affairs was renewed, it was conducted in such an inferior and perfunctory manner, and that conclusions were reached on imperfect information, obtained almost entirely from official and one-sided without any enquiry in India, and without any evidence from natives of the country. We are surprised that,

Chin. years had expired, there was not some careful proprietors at comparison instituted, to exhibit the expectations excited by 1832, the plans then formed, and the subsequent results. For we believe that there is really room for doubt on many points which appear to be commonly taken for granted. We in Bengal, and our fellow subjects in Madras, know well that all is *not* peace, contentment and prosperity. We are cognizant of notorious evils of great and momentous importance—evils long recognized but unremoved. We know how the work of education was extolled, when, in fact, it reached only a few thousands of the upper classes, pampered them with an effeminate feast of trifling literature, and turned them into a race of selfish, noisy, disaffected infidels. We know that poverty, like an armed man, has been stealing over the fertile territory, alike of Madras and Bengal ; we know here of Rent-laws and Sale-laws, which probably constitute the most oppressive fiscal laws in the statute book of any nation ; we know of unprotected tenures, and of cultivators *en masse* in the power of landlords who, without restraint, can tax them at their pleasure, and who, by law, are authorized to ‘ compel their attendance.’ We know of this oppressive system, and of the energies of the people wasting under it ; and we know that between 1824 and 1852 no attempt had been made to relieve the evil. We believe that the cultivators have been sinking lower in temporal circumstances and in mental depression. We know that Bengal was practically ungoverned ; and we might well think it strange that the proposition to give it a separate governor should be opposed by the Court of Directors, on the narrow ground of its effect on the patronage of the Governor General. We know, too, that

while Public Works, and in particular, Railways, were proposed in 1830, nothing was done till 1850, after Lord Dalhousie had fairly grappled with the subject, and that it will probably be 1862—thirty years from 1832,—before we have the trunk line complete to Delhi. We know, as to Calcutta, the great reservoir of Indian trade, that it had, and has still, only one inadequate canal for the access of all its hundreds of thousands of tons of inland produce. We know that great parts of the country in that year 1852, were as little known and were as little accessible as the island of Ceylon. We heard of no effective and ~~large-hearted~~ measures to improve the condition of the people; all was as cold and slow as the seniority system. Lord Dalhousie, with a mind capable of effecting great things, was (like all who have been Governors General) absorbed by the general interests of the State; and could not give himself to the details of this Presidency. On him pressed the burden of two wars, the settlement and pacification of the ~~country~~, annexation of Nagpore, Pegu, and Oude, the ~~Rajah~~ Postal system, the Electric Telegraph, our relations with Nizam; and our Finances. We were out of touch with our ~~country~~ policy, and the Parliament and people of England left us thus unregarded and neglected, in a course of moral and social deterioration, in the bitterness of suffering and wrong.

We speak the words, not of passion, but of truth and soberness. Is it a light thing that a great and populous country should have an ineffectual and oppressive police, and an administration of justice which is admitted to be little better than a mockery and a lottery; that landlords have usurped jurisdiction and arbitrary power in tribunals of their own; and that such venality and perjury have engendered throughout the country by the regular courts, as would suffice in a few years to corrupt the noblest people on earth? Is it a light matter, that these things should go on unchecked, unimproved, year after year, decade after decade, and that all reform should be made subservient to the maintenance of monopoly, of patronage, and the perpetuation of a system of which exclusiveness is the root and fruit? And may not the voice of sympathy and compassion for suffering thousands, be uttered in these circumstances, without the imputation of passion? We have here in India a record to look back upon, which should rather shame into silence, those who, in England and India, have had the responsibility of the government. It is needless to dwell on the dark early history of notorious and unscrupulous corruption. The House of Commons did its duty then, in exposure—and such an exposure it was, as probably could not be exceeded, if there had been a commission of enquiry into the gains of Turkish Pachas. But more orderly times succeeded. Then Lord Wellesley came to India,

and such was the tone of public sentiment, that Dr. Buchanan had to inform him, that up to that time, there had never been divine service at Barrackpore or at any other station. Then soon followed the days of opposition to Christian Missions, and to the Resolution passed by the House of Commons in 1793. Carey and his companions were warned to leave the country: Judson and his associates were banished from India. By the pilgrim tax; by the grants to heathen temples; by the superintendence of Hindu Trusts, (pronounced to be "endowments for pious and beneficial purposes") Hinduism was propped up, when there is good reason to believe that it was languishing.

In seasons of drought the aid of the Brahmans was sought (even not long ago,) to pray for rain; there was public worship, at the expense of government, to seek a profit on the trade in salt and opium; in the work of education the government

perpetrated religious and philosophical errors of Hinduism and Buddhism. Trade was hampered by the obstinate retention of internal Transit-duties. The Government insisted

on its losing trade with India and its losing trade

China. Putting the losses into the hands of ship-owning proprietors at the out of the revenues of India. There were obstacles to the settlement of Europeans in India; objections to suppression of Sati; protests against the freedom of the press. There were many years without vigilance in exacting the land tax, and no single measure enlarged benevolence. Old Indians became types, in work of fiction, and on the public stage, of prejudice, selfishness and folly.

We ask in vain, why India was thus neglected by the English nation? Let it be observed that there was every thing to encourage interference. There has oftentimes been an outcry against this or that proposition made in the British Parliament; but it is important to remember, that it is extremely difficult to mention a single case in which the interference of the British Legislature has not been a positive, important, and substantial benefit to India. The early efforts of Burke and Dundas to bring the government into order, and to put down corruption, as well as the previous establishment of the Supreme Court, may have been made (were indeed necessarily based) on imperfect information; but no one pretends that they were not great and useful reforms. Even the impeachment of Hastings had its legitimate basis, and was fully as much a debt due to justice as was his subsequent acquittal. The spirit of the enquiry and of the charter in 1793, is best illustrated by the resolution already quoted. Then in 1813, the trade with India was thrown open, the impulse was given to education, and the barriers to missionary efforts were removed. In 1833, the Agra Presidency was established, the Supreme Council

received legislative powers, the Law Commission was issued, the China trade was thrown open, and the offices of government in India were opened to the people. In 1853, the Legislative Council (as the first instalment of representative Government) was established, yearly reports of administration were required from each Presidency, the new system of education was established, public works were taken up in earnest, and above all, (as the certain root of extensive and incalculable improvement in the future spirit of the government) the Civil Service was opened to public competition. And now, if we are

to have a real reform of the judicial system, we owe it to the Law Commission appointed by the Crown in 1853 to give effect to the reports of the Law Commission of 1833, and to the discussions in Parliament which have impelled the Home Government to insist on the new Code of Procedure being embodied in a law.

In other matters, Home influence has been equally strong and powerful. It was by home influence, that Lord Canning's despatch was obtained, ordering the severance of the Government with idolatry. Recently it was home influence which urged the attention of the Government to the subject of torture, and it is home influence which has tended most to regulate and stimulate the Government of India in all that it has attempted to develop the resources of the country.

It is to this home influence, the power of English public opinion, and the authority of the British Legislature, that we look now for further changes; and without this influence, we have little hope of speedy or satisfactory reforms. For, past delays have not arisen from uncertainty as to the principal measures required. So far back as 1832 we find Mr. Holt Mackenzie thus stating his views in reply to questions from the Board of Control, and those views reported to the House of Commons.

"Looking forward to no very distant time in the history of a nation, we might, I think, increase the wealth of the country, or secure a better distribution of it, and consequently raise more revenue, if wanted, by all or some of the following measures. By a settlement of the amount to be paid by the owners of the land, for a long term of years, the assessment being so adjusted as to leave them a valuable property in the surplus rent beyond the Government demand, and *with a survey and record, such as to remove all doubt with regard to the subject matter of the settlement; by encouraging the settlement of Europeans, and the children of Europeans, and the application of their energy, skill, and capital to agriculture; by educating the natives to European knowledge and habits; by admitting natives to a larger share in the advantages of office; by constant, but gradually urged efforts to give a more popular character to the administration of the country; by a liberal, but economical, and strictly watched expendi-*

ture in facilitating internal intercourse; by removing all artificial impediments to the extension of trade in India, or between England and India; by abolishing the usury law in India, and providing generally a good system of mercantile law, and courts to administer it promptly and cheaply."

So again:—

"The salaries of officers to be regulated by the work to be done, without reference to individuals or classes employed, further than is necessary, with the view of having good work, including the term, as respects civil government, the maintenance and securing the sovereignty of England; the consequent employment of an agency more and more extensively, with liberal, though (to Europeans comparatively) moderate allowances; the restriction of high-paid European functionaries (I include all judges, magistrates, and collectors of districts) to matters necessarily requiring their intercession; *the full recognition of the absurdity of attempting to administer the affairs of a million of civilized men by the direct agency of two individuals, and those foreigners;* and the practical application of the principle that we cannot really have a civil government through the co-operation of the people; the gradual extinction of servants temporarily deputed from England, from all functions not necessarily connected with them with the view of maintaining the sovereignty of England; the more general employment of individuals in place of colonies; the immediate exemption of the local governments, especially the Supremo Government, from responsibility for matters of detail which they cannot usefully, and do not actually administer; the clear definition of the responsibilities actually belonging to all classes of public functionaries; the appointment of a Governor General and Council for all India, with powers and duties so defined as to make him such in reality, not in name; the union of the armies of the three Presidencies under one head; the transfer of the whole to the crown; the substitution of a part of the royal navy for the Bombay marine or the Indian navy; the better regulation of the supply of stores required by the Indian Governments; a stricter check upon expenditure in public works; the better definition of the powers of Direction as distinguished from those of Control; the exclusion of the controlling authorities from all patronage, direct or indirect.

"I should suppose it likely that the purposes of economy would be promoted by the employment of the ordnance and other national establishments, in all business connected with the Indian army, which has to be done in England in their several departments. The island of Ceylon ought, I should think, to be part of the Indian Government; St. Helena should be a national concern; and of course the revenues, taken from the people of India in virtue of our national sovereignty, should be regarded as belonging to the public purse of England, so that every saving in our territorial charges may be considered a national saving; and every waste of our territorial resources, a waste of public money."

Let these words be weighed ; let the evidence on steam navigation, and on railways, be considered ; let the appointment of the law commission be borne in mind, and then let it be considered what was the prospect in 1833, and what, in contrast, was actually accomplished by 1853. Mr. Mackenzie's plans had nothing in them speculative, impracticable, or disturbing to the position of the East India Company. They simply embraced, together with the maintenance of the Court of Directors, ~~the~~ patronage, the advancement of the people in their material interests, and the ~~six~~ application of the plan for government. He wanted a fair application of salary to labour ; the abolition, as far as possible, of civil and social disabilities ; the employment of an adequate number of public servants ; the separation of civil functions ; the clear definition of responsibility ; civil courts of justice ; public works, and a series of other measures which have only been partially carried to the present time, or remain altogether still in progress. At this point we have the remarkable evidence of the paper presented in 1853, from the British and other Christians of Calcutta and other parts of Bengal. They were

"Although the Government was furnished by the Charter Act (of 1833) with new powers I machinery to effect what then appeared, and whatever intentions of Parliament, might appear, desirable, many of the intentions of Parliament, ~~were~~ enain neglected : thus, for example, no means have been taken to train for India, a properly qualified body of judges, or to open the judicial service to qualified persons, though the want was demonstrated by a large body of evidence before Committees of the Houses of Parliament. The criminal laws of the East India Company's Courts, in their application to natives, were condemned, fifteen years ago, by the Indian Law Commission, which was appointed under a direction of the Charter Act, to inquire into the state of the laws ; but the criminal laws remain for the most part unchanged. In a spirit generally deemed as impolitic as illiberal, the Government has repeatedly proposed to bring British subjects under those laws, though so declared unjust toward the natives who were accustomed to them. The want, in the East India Company's Courts, of Laws adapted to the requirements of trade and commerce, is well known ; the English law could furnish an equitable commercial code, but English law is excluded from these courts, and no other rational system has been enjoined upon or adopted by them, although the Charter Act expressly directs the preparation of laws adapted to all classes of the public. The great want, in the courts of the East India Company, of a body of laws both civil and criminal, for the East Indians, to whom as Christians the native laws were not justly applicable, was specially brought under the consideration of Parliament, and the peculiar hardship of the case drew forth the sympathy of several eminent men. Practical

relief has been proposed to government by the Indian Law Commission under the name of a *Lex Loci Act*, but relief has not been given. Parliament abolished all disabilities for office or public employment by reason of race, creed, color, or origin; but distinctions are maintained in administration between previously excluded classes and privileged classes, which place the former in a state of official and social degradation. The state of the police is as bad as before the last Charter Act, and it is no protection to the people. Other instances might be mentioned: and hence your petitioners express their disappointment, and have again to bring subjects together with others, under the consideration of Parliament.

In writing now in 1857, four years after the existing Charter Act was under discussion, we adumbrate the progress, but how little and how slow! On every side, with the development of European enterprise, with the progress of education, with the gradual enlargement of public works, prosperity arises of increased taxation, of the energies of government, the hidden wealth, developed resources, the future influence of this country, in view, and we feel more than ever the urgent need of an administration of justice, principles of government, social condition of the people, which actually our opportunities and our duty.

There is, however, one branch of subject to which at present we desire to direct attention. This is of the *Commerce*, and *Resources* of the country, as connected with her *Prospects*, that we have now particularly to speak. We do not separate this topic as the most important of all in existing circumstances, (highly important as it undoubtedly is,) but because it is a subject fitted to engage the special attention of a large class at home, whose attention, once gained, will be turned afterwards and necessarily to the general claims and necessities of India, and to the responsibility and duty of the British Legislature in relation to them. It is not because we deem the development of the country's physical resources more important than the due Administration of Justice, the Education of the people, or Christian Missions, or more important than the relation of the Government of India to the Native states, that we now bring it prominently forward; but because we know the energy, the influence, and the intelligence of that commercial and manufacturing class in England, whose attention we wish to gain; and because we know that their zeal and public spirit will carry them onward to a general consideration of all the wants of India, if once they fairly become interested in her resources. At present it is not to be denied, that the case is not understood, in this respect, or in any other. It is common to hear members of the House of Commons com-

plain of their inability to deal with Indian subjects, from conscious ignorance of her social and political condition. They have been accustomed to such confidence of assertion, and such apparently triumphant explanations of every difficulty, and then, afterwards, have been so surprised by speedy acknowledgments, made unblushingly, of the very defects which were denied before, that they have become doubtful of every thing—doubtful most of all, of those who, longest and most confidently, have defended the administration of India as replete with proofs of wisdom and moderation. Many men, both members of the imperial legislature and others, with earnest desires to do justice to this country, have felt compelled to suspend their judgments, and have not yet dared to adopt any decided course, though impatient of existing system, and apprehensive that more complete inquiry would only strengthen their objections to it. In addition to this class of minds now seriously disposed to do full justice to India, men whose conscience prompts them the duty of investigating her condition, will, on the present topic, in the knowledge that the tedious documents to quote will be no encumbrance to their patient consideration of the whole subject. We present them, from various scattered sources, in as summary a form as possible, the facts we have collected, leaving the kind of information which is accessible, and the particular branches of inquiry which will repay further investigation.

In estimating the resources of India, the first consideration is the extent of the population, not only as a test of the productive powers of the country, but also of its actual production and consumption of food. But it is extremely difficult to reach any satisfactory conclusion on this matter, beyond the fact that the population is certainly not less than one hundred and fifty millions. But the probability is that it greatly exceeds this number. When the Punjab was annexed, the population there was believed to be five or six millions; it has since been ascertained to be thirteen millions. In the North West Provinces the first census gave a return of twenty-three millions; the second census, soon after (which was more careful and complete) gave thirty. In Bengal there appears to be no case in which an estimate of the population has not been exceeded by a local census or careful calculation, except in Calcutta, where it is difficult to define the population accurately at any one moment, so fluctuating is it from day to day, and so various have been the boundaries implied in the term "Calcutta" in various statements. On the whole it may be asserted with entire confidence, that the population is likely to prove, on a complete census, if it be ever

possible to make one, nearer two hundred millions than one hundred and fifty. And all these people are fed by the country; there is no imported food, beyond the luxuries, the wines and spirits, preserves, and the like, imported chiefly for Europeans. In Bengal the food is chiefly rice, fish, fruit, peas, and vegetables. In the Upper Provinces and other parts less rice is used, and atta, the flour of wheat, is substituted for it. Much flesh also is used by the Mohammedans and others. The extent of cultivation for this immense population must be added the vast area of 84,162 miles for other uses, for many purposes; timber, for example, is a valuable article; the cotton for native cloth; the silk for native silk dresses, dyes; the tobacco; wool; betel; and so on; and the countless other supplies for daily use in an empire so large and so varied, accustomed to the manufactures and usages of the world. The native landholder, and his master, in his articles of luxury, to a large extent, uses still the products of his country; silver and gold jewellery, i.e., ornaments of silver and gold, and harness, his pleasure and amusement draws almost entirely from native workmen. The country is supplied with leather; ropes; brazen and iron vessels; weights and measures; paper; toys, and numerous articles of daily use. There is a great and valuable consumption of native sweetmeats and confectionery; there are native spirituous liquors; and native carpets, glassware, guns, pistols, and swords; and the domestic cattle and horses are numerous. The wild animals tamed to use, include great numbers of elephants, buffaloes, and camels.

But it is needless to specify in detail, the products of a country with such a soil, such rivers, such varieties of climate, and such a vast population. A glance at the map will show the valley of the Ganges to be one of the most valuable, extensive and highly favored districts in the world. In that great extent of country, for a course of a thousand miles in length, and in many parts for several hundreds of miles in breadth, all nature teems with life,—fish, vegetation, cattle,—‘for the use of man.’ Affluents pour into the streams alike of the Ganges and Jumna, then joining they flow from Allahabad, five hundred miles onward to the sea, receiving at length the mighty volume of the Bhramaputra, and rushing out through a hundred mouths to the sea. But this is only one line of inland navigation. In the Punjab the Indus, the Sutlej, the Chenab, the Ravi, the Beas, course down to the Indian ocean from the depths, the hidden depths, of untroudden mountains. In Oude

the Gogra (tributary to the Ganges) ; in Western Bengal the Roopnarain, the Damoodah, the Mahanuddy ; in Central Bengal the Jellinghee, Bhaghirati, Matabangah, flowing into the Hooghly ; in Northern Bengal the Mahanuddy ; in Behar the Gunduck ; in Central India the Nerbudda ; in Madras the Godavery, the Coleroon, the Cavery, the Kistnah ; in Guzerat the Taptee—these are but some of the streams of India, which irrigate thousands of square miles. At present, we refrain from speculating on other rivers, ~~as it is~~ ^{open} easily account for 1850, a population being fed for 100,000,000 persons a year; for such a generation living on, with such few Lax and distant expensives of famine.

~~effe~~ But another test is the External Commerce. It is by no means a conclusive test ; there may be countries (Spain for instance, or Mexico) with extraordinary natural resources, but with such political and financial wantages, as almost destroy commerce. In India, however, the external commerce fails to afford some test, notwithstanding various difficulties and obstructions to its full development. In dealing with this subject, some discrimination is required ; for ~~as~~ ^{as} imports by sea will by ~~means~~ ^{means} afford the ~~most~~ ^{best} information required. We speak of such in the aggregate, as though there could be no external commerce within its limits. Yet, properly speaking, India consists of a variety of different territories ; and a large part of it, containing forty-five millions of people, belongs to native states which are merely subsidiary to the British power. From them, little is exported through our territories to the sea, but much is imported into them from our territories, not only of that which has been imported by sea, but also of that which has been produced in the British dominions. There is also the external commerce over the frontier—with Burmah, the Shan States, Bootan, Nepal, Thibet, Cashmere, and Afghanistan. From the nature of the case, this trade is not large ; and the exports from India probably consist chiefly of goods imported by sea. But in the aggregate there must be a considerable traffic of an external character, of which, since the Transit-duties have been abolished, no accurate account can be given. It affords, however, a prospect of expansion ; and the time may not be distant, when it will be exceedingly valuable. We have the prospect, and should steadily keep in view the probability, of an overland trade with China. We have the power, by a wise and peaceful policy, gradually to conciliate the confidence of the bold and enterprising trader of Central Asia, who even now, amidst danger and with few facilities of access to our country, travels probably fifteen hundred miles to obtain his goods at Calcutta or Mirzapore. What the resources of his country may be, we know not ; but we

do know that on our Affghan frontier, under the Soliman range, there are valleys of exquisite beauty, and the richest fertility, peopled by a brave and independent race, who by twenty years of kindness and justice may be won to our sway, and may then become the pioneers to other lands beyond,—lands of hidden wealth and resources, which, perhaps, are kept, as the mines of California, concealed from mankind, till the exigency of man's commerce plead for their discovery. It is interesting to think of this great expanse of country entering from the Caspian Sea,^{84,162} occupying Kokan, Sind, Malwa, and to look forward to our vindictive people of Cashmere, whom we sold into slavery in the name of humanity, not with arms, but with the power of peace, onwards, it may lead us to the Tien-shan, where the valley of the Indus is made up the valley of the Indus, and the Tien-shan in Thibet, a lovely arena of enterprise will be opened up. We know not what meadow and woodland providence of God has destined to our faith, but we cannot afford to let it pass, for it will be a spoil and a prey for ever to the Tartars, for ever against all improvement. If it be a field of silver, it may be the extension of the trade in borax, we know not whether it will be a plain at last, and mountains and deserts, no longer our British nation in India, from that noble race who now hate and defy us. We have heard recently of the discoveries in Africa, and we see there the opening up of the course of the Zambesi and its net work of streams in the central region; and so in central Asia, we may owe to some pioneer of truth, the first introduction to lands which we dare not now enter, and to races which are now fierce as the chased lion of the wilderness. Come it will in some way—this opening up of long closed lands, this welding together of hostile nations: come it will, though its arrival may be delayed, through the first movements toward it may be rejected; through the memory of our ambitious and unjust invasion of Affghanistan, our crooked policy in Central Asia, and the scandal both have brought on the Christian name.

This subject is far too important to be summarily dismissed in a paper on the prospects of India; and it is one which deserves much more careful consideration than it has yet received at home. Our position, at present, is probably the strongest possible. We have the Soliman Range for our North-Western

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will, though its arrival may be delayed, through the first move-

ments toward it may be rejected; through the memory of our

ambitious and unjust invasion of Affghanistan, our crooked

policy in Central Asia, and the scandal both have brought on

the Christian name.

Frontier, and, within that, we have the Indus. In the valleys of that range, and on either side of it, are a large number of tribes always at war among themselves, and resolute in resisting regular government. Any foe approaching us in this direction would have to enter India through difficult passes, to find us on our own soil, with illimitable resources behind us, and with the entire command of the Indus from the port at Kurrachee to the Hindu Kosh. And with this prospect the foe expected is Russia.

~~open easily account of 1857~~ Herat, she can come to year; for such a nation has easy access to the commerce and distant empire by Soliman Range, and Persia is the dependent of India. Russia can gradually advance her posts from Kurrachee inland to Herat, and thence onward through Candahar, without or without Persian intervention. Such is the picture which ~~gives~~ our danger. But the whole thing is contemptible. In the first place, what is the ~~danger~~ by which alone this ~~danger~~ can be averted? No one, nor Persia alone, nor Persia combined, shall be able to occupy Herat. It is the ~~policy~~ of India. It is ~~to~~ ~~make~~ independent government for ever. In other words, because our position (wonderfully strong as it is) is not strong enough already, we must have further security by perpetuating between us and Teheran, and between us and the ~~other~~ ~~fanatics~~, Herat and all the other vile and murderous despots in Central Asia which for so many centuries Central Asia has been reduced to the battle field of blood-thirsty ferocious Mussalman chiefs. That is the point of morality to which we are carried by the Monroe doctrine, which we wish to establish in Asia. Whenever, therefore, any danger arises from Persian attempts on Herat, we must attack that country, reduce its strength and pride, and—render it a still easier prey than before to Russian ambition. It will be found on enquiry, that the ablest men who have studied the subject, acknowledge that the policy involves a constant irritating interference in Central Asia, which rouses the jealousy of all the rulers against us, and which tends to lead us on to conquests beyond our frontier that will produce little or no return, will entail enormous expense, and commit us to still further advances, till at last we shall go to meet the Russians instead of their coming to meet us—we shall meet them in positions where their resources are all near at hand, while ours are all separated from us by mountain ranges, peopled by warlike and treacherous, and perhaps, hostile tribes.

When Herat was in danger before, we adopted this policy. We complained that Russia, while at peace with us, had officers assisting the Persian army: it is matter of history that we had English officers defending the city. And the English govern-

ment carried the House of Commons along with it in extolling our Afghan expedition—the simple expedient being one of the most disgraceful tricks in English history, a careful garbling of a Blue Book, in which passages were so omitted, and passages were brought into such convenient collocation, that exactly the reverse of the truth was exhibited to view. Those who desire proof and illustration of this skilful mode of escaping from a difficulty, for which Lord Palmerston is so famous, may see it in Kaye's History of the War, 1841, &c.

Buist's petition to the House of Commons on Indian Territories, session 1841, Book, as ordered to be published. By dexterities of this kind, and especially of the brilliancy of our successes, over the rurality of the country, and the people, the delusion was kept up—that we could easily re-enter the country, and, after some stages (leaving, it is believed, no hope), and then to return, our movement being treated, in hatred and the hearts of the people. Such was

But there is another view of the case that Russia does advance, and she occupies Teheran, Astrabad, Kandahar—what then? We know every movement forward in such a direction is more and more powerless for aggression. We have to hold, new hostilities to dread, new tribes to hold in check. Thus it is now on our present frontier. We have to face on the mountains from Huzara to the Scinde boundary, 135,000 fighting men, and we gallantly hold our own with 23,000 men. But what additional force is necessary behind them? We are in fact compelled to keep a large army in the highest state of efficiency in the Punjab, and if we moved onward to Afghanistan, we should have to increase our forces at every step. Exactly so it must be with Russia. As she advances her frontier amidst the finest races of fighting men in the world, her difficulties will thicken around her; her troops will be more employed in the work of defence at every step; she will have a new Circassia to conquer and to hold; and finally her approach will throw into real alliance with us, the Afghans; who at present are dreading us and not her. But views of this kind are not in keeping with the rash, impulsive, short-sighted policy which has recently become popular, and perhaps, we should apologize for such unwelcome sentiments. We speak,

Commons.
shing accounts
in Afghanistan,
tire success of our
army was massacred;
to exact retribution,"
many British subjects
in "glory;" our monu-
desire for revenge, in
"famous victory."

matter. Suppose the
erat,—nay more, that
, Bokhara, Khelat, and
by experience that by
region, we become more
We have new fortresses
new tribes to hold in
frontier. We have to

We propose in each Presidency to allow the Government imports of stores and merchandize to remain. The case of the Straits Settlements must be dealt with separately; and in each case the official value will be given in the first instance.

We commence with the returns of 1853-54, because the two subsequent years may be regarded as exceptional on account of the war. But whether the impulse then given to the trade in particular will not be permanent, and whether the rise of prices, and with it the prosperity, it is from other causes, be easily accounted for in 1855-56, are separate consideration. To year; for such a period as the year just closed, will, ~~are~~, ~~the~~ distant experience, position, and may be taken as indicative of ~~is~~ ~~the~~ ~~messia~~ our trade, as to particular articles of export, and ~~the~~ ~~bad~~ treasure, and the increased consumption of British ~~and~~ ~~other~~ resources.

We shall take no ~~part~~ ~~in~~ ~~our~~ ~~of~~ re-exports, as that would lead us into multifarious details and into distinctions between exports of different classes, and it is not important this subject, as the aggregate ~~is~~ ~~not~~ very important traffic.

The results then are as follows:—

BENGAL, INCLUDING MURSHIDABAD, HIRACAN AND TENASSERIM.

<i>Imports, 1853-54.</i>	<i>Exports, 1853-54.</i>
Merchandise £ 5,934,187	Merchandise £ 11,061,155
Company's ditto £ 13,379	Treasure £ 485,069
Treasure £ 2,150,322	
	£ 11,546,224
£ 8,219,888	

Total Trade.

Imports	£ 8,219,888
Exports	£ 11,546,224
	£ 19,766,112

Bills on Bengal by the Court of Directors £ 3,336,706

Imports, 1854-55.

Exports, 1854-55.

Merchandise..... £ 6,921,278	Merchandise..... £ 11,516,333
Company's ditto £ 142,094	Treasure £ 551,011
Treasure £ 694,886	
£ 7,758,258	£ 12,067,344

Total Trade.

Imports	£ 7,758,258
Exports	£ 12,067,344
	<hr/> £ 19,825,602

Bills on Bengal by the Court of Directors £ 3,093,959

Imports, 1855-56.

Merchandise £ 84,162	
Company's ditto £ 170,555	
Treasure £ 6,011,225	
	<hr/> 13,888,391
£ 14,367,942	<hr/>

Total Trade

.....	£ 14,367,942
.....	£ 13,888,391
	<hr/> £ 28,256,333

Bills on Bengal by the Court of Directors £ 1,232,633

SHIPPING.*Arrivals, 1853-54.*

Vessels.	Tonnage.
Square Rigged... 990	528,499
Native Craft ... 392	52,139
	<hr/> 1,382 580,638

Departures, 1853-54.

Vessels.	Tonnage.
Square Rigged 1,027	631,539
Native Craft... 495	52,481
	<hr/> 1,522 684,020

Arrivals, 1854-55.

Square Rigged 1,225	481,881
Native Craft... 417	44,500
	<hr/> 1,642 526,381

Departures, 1854-55.

Square Rigged 1,151	601,187
Native Craft... 515	52,868
	<hr/> 1,666 654,055

Arrivals, 1855-56.

Square Rigged 1,529	864,227
Native Craft... 514	56,005
	<hr/> 2,043 920,232

Departures, 1855-56.

Square Rigged 1,555	861,546
Native Craft... 593	61,958
	<hr/> 2,148 923,504

MADRAS TERRITORIES.

Imports, 1853-54.

Merchandise.....	£ 1,635,233	Merchandise.....	£ 2,997,735
Treasure	£ 1,106,029	Treasure	£ 1,069,182
	<hr/>		<hr/>
	2,741,262		£ 4,066,917

Exports, 1853-54.

.....	£ 2,741,262
.....	£ 4,066,917
	<hr/>
	£ 6,808,179

We have no account of the
Madras by the Court of
large.

insert here of the bills drawn on
actors, but the amount will not be
large.

Imports, 1854-55.

Merchandise.....	£ 1,96	Merchandise.....	£ 2,394,708
Treasure	£ 1,95	Treasure	£ 820,695
	<hr/>		<hr/>
	£ 2,	91	£ 3,215,503

Exports, 1854.

Imports	£ 2,560,691
Exports	£ 3,215,503
	<hr/>
	£ 5,776,194

Imports, 1855-56.

Merchandise.....	£ 2,313,387	Merchandise.....	£ 2,917,090
Treasure	£ 1,371,669	Treasure	£ 441,875
	<hr/>		<hr/>
	£ 3,685,056		£ 3,358,965

Exports, 1855-56.

Imports	£ 3,685,056
Exports	£ 3,358,965
	<hr/>
	£ 7,044,021

Total Trade.

SHIPPING.

Arrivals, 1853-54.

	Vessels.	Tonnage.		Vessels.	Tonnage.
Square Rigged	1,612	361,390*	Square Rigged	2,068	433,975
Native Craft	3,881	182,503	Native Craft	4,725	210,569
	<hr/> 5,493	<hr/> 543,893		<hr/> 6,793	<hr/> 644,544

Arrivals, 1854.

Square Rigged	1,449	339,212			
Native Craft	3,677	171,421			
	<hr/> 5,426	<hr/> 510,633		<hr/> 6,207	<hr/> 585,973

Arrivals, 1855-56.

Square Rigged	1,221	356,641	Sc.	Rigged	1,633	463,736
Native Craft	3,439	213,918	N.	Craft	4,875	231,829
	<hr/> 5,660	<hr/> 570,559			<hr/> 6,508	<hr/> 695,565

PORT OF BOMBAY.

Imports, 1853-54.

Merchandise	£ 6,174,824	Merchandise	£ 7,982,493
Treasure	£ 2,263,538	Treasure	£ 1,524,695
	<hr/> £ 8,438,362		<hr/> £ 9,507,188

Total Trade.

Imports	£ 8,438,362
Exports	£ 9,507,188
	<hr/> £ 17,945,550

We have not the return of the bills drawn on Bombay by the Court of Directors, but it may be generally stated that about

* This number of square rigged vessels includes many which called at Madras with a portion of cargo, or with passengers.

£3,500,000 is thus drawn from India for home dividends, pay, pensions, &c.

<i>Imports, 1854-55.</i>	<i>Exports, 1854-55.</i>
Merchandise ... £ 6,497,728	Merchandise ... £ 7,464,581
Horses £ 30,015	Horses £ 1,200
Treasure £ 1,337,478	Treasure £ 704,099
<hr/>	<hr/>
7,865,221	£ 8,169,880
	<hr/>

<i>Imports, 1855-</i>	<i>Exports, 1855-</i>
Merchandise ... £ 6,33	Merchandise ... £ 7,865,221
Horses £ 10	..... £ 8,169,880
Treasure £ 4,940	..... £ 16,035,101
<hr/>	<hr/>
£ 11,577	£ 16,035,101
93	<hr/>
<hr/>	<hr/>
£ 11,577	£ 10,287,915
93	<hr/>
<hr/>	<hr/>

Total Trade.

Imports	£	£ 11,577,303
Exports .....	.....	£ 10,287,915
		<hr/>
		£ 21,865,218
		<hr/>

SHIPPING.

<i>Arrivals, 1853-54.</i>	<i>Departures, 1853-54.</i>
Vessels.	Tonnage.
Square Rigged 313	191,014
Native Craft 5,567	209,973
<hr/>	<hr/>
5,880	400,987
<hr/>	<hr/>

<i>Arrivals, 1854-55.</i>	<i>Departures, 1854-55.</i>
Square Rigged 285	181,159
Native Craft... 4,899	185,700
<hr/>	<hr/>
5,184	366,859
<hr/>	<hr/>

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Arrivals, 1855-56.

	Vessels.	Tonnage.
Square Rigged	320	229,403
Native Craft...	5,845	223,524
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	6,165	452,927
	<hr/>	<hr/>

Departures, 1855-56.

	Vessels.	Tonnage.
Square Rigged	324	231,496
Native Craft...	4,372	167,824
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	4,696	399,320
	<hr/>	<hr/>

This return, however, thus follows:—The returns for the year 1841-16, as follows:—Alibaugh, Bassee, Gogo, Ghurbundu, Jumbosur, Jumgun, Panwell, Bijpooree, Rutnapore, Trombo, Unjunwell, V. Warree—exhibiting in detail the in the report of external commerce. The amount given by these returns

Bombay.
 Surat, 'Tal.
 Rangoon, Waghra, exports, appear
 at Bombay for 1855-56.

Imports

£ 286,930

Exports

£ 285,643

Merchandise

But we have not the means of preparing former reports, and therefore will omit which we shall have to present.

The Report of the Administration of the Province of Pegu affords some considerable information of its external trade, both by sea and the rivers. The returns (deducting £200,000 annually, as the fair estimate of imported Government treasure) may be stated as follows, for the aggregate of the four ports of Rangoon, Dalhousie, Toongoo, and Thyat-Mew.

MERCHANDISE AND TREASURE, 1853-54.

Imports	£ 344,737
Exports	£ 381,601
	<hr/>
	£ 726,338

1854-45.

Imports	£ 755,827
Exports	£ 852,513
	<hr/>
	£ 1,608,340
	<hr/>

1855-56.

Imports	£ 1,267,071
Exports	£ 663,785
	£ 1,930,856

We have not the tables of the Straits' Settlements beyond
 1853-54, but certainly on the increase, the
 "54 may be an under-
 estimate, or the trade in the years
 before.

IMPORTS,

Prince of Wales' Island.

Merchandise	£ 8
Treasure and Bullion £	87
	—

Singapore.

Merchandise	£ 2,8
Treasure and Bullion £	38
	—

Malacca.

Merchandise	£ 3,832
Treasure and Bullion £	15,094
	—

£ 78,926

EXPORTS, 1852-53.

Prince of Wales' Island.

Merchandise	£ 622,128
Treasure and Bullion £	2,454
	—

Singapore.

Merchandise	£ 2,312,281
Treasure and Bullion £	475,842
	—

£ 2,788,073

Malacca.

Merchandise	£ 37,267
Treasure and Bullion £	26,575
	—

Total Exports £ 63,842

Total for Straits' Settlements.

Imports.....	£ 3,882,053	Exports	£ 3,634,497
--------------	-------------	---------------	-------------

IMPORTS, 1853-54.

Prince of Wales' Island.

Merchandise.....	£ 581,239
Treasure and Bullion £	93,061
	—

£ 674,300

EXPORTS, 1853-54.

Prince of Wales' Island.

Merchandise.....	£ 689,002
Treasure and Bullion £	179,945
	—

£ 868,947

<i>Singapore.</i>	<i>Singapore.</i>
Merchandise..... £ 3,191,546	Merchandise £ 2,389,788
Treasure and } £ 956,144	Treasure and } £ 1,018,017
Bullion ...	
£ 4,147,690	<u>£ 3,407,805</u>

<i>Malacca.</i>	
Merchandise..... £ 84,162	
Treasure and }	
Bullion	
£ 1,040,306	<u>870,463</u>

<i>Total for the Straits</i>	
Imports..... £ 5,862,296	Exports..... £ 5,147,215
Exclusive of the intermed- iate port of the Administra- tion during 1850-51, does not give any but it contains the following remar-	ade.

"While the trade of Penang and Malacca has increased since 1850-51, that of Singapore has increased still more rapidly, and is now nearly seventy-five per cent. above that of 1850-51, shewing an extent during the last year of ninety-five millions of rupees (£9,500,000.)"

A caution is then added against entire reliance on the returns of trade, as the port being a free port, no check exists on the values and estimates of the traders; and it is then said:—

"The position of Singapore, in a commercial point of view, is so admirable, that little surprise is felt at the great and annually increasing amount of trade that has there developed itself. Its harbour is open, accessible from all quarters, and free from all dangers of winds and waves. Every ship between India and China must, it may be said, go through the harbour, while it becomes a dépôt for the produce of the whole of the Malayan Peninsula and Archipelago, of Borneo, of Siam, Cambodia and Cochin China, which it attracts with double force, by its freedom from all the annoyances and vexatious interference of a custom-house and its myrmidons. Such freedom is peculiarly grateful to the sensitive and jealous Malay, not on account of the absence of all money payments, but that he has no apprehension of being meddled with, cheated, and perhaps ill-treated; and so long as that freedom continues, so long may we look forward to a perennial augmentation of a trade that is already almost unexampled in its growth and magnitude."

A paper is then annexed, which, without distinguishing mer-

chandise and treasure, gives us the following aggregate of exports and imports for Singapore alone.

<i>Exports.</i>	<i>Imports.</i>
1854-55.....£ 3,339,937	1854-55.....£ 3,974,624
1855-56.....£ 4,427,229	1855-56.£ 5,144,167
Increase...£ 1,087,292	Increase...£ 1,169,543

~~certain and imperfect nature of
the as tolerably fair index to the
Imports of the Straits' Settle-~~

<i>Imports,</i>	<i>Exports, 1853-54.</i>
Merchandise	£ 0
Treasure and } £ 0	Merchandise£ 2,400,000
Bullion ...}	Treasure and } £ 0,000
	Bullion ...} £ 0,000
£ 3,974,624	£ 0
<i>Imports, 1854-55.</i>	<i>Exports, 1854-55.</i>
Merchandise£ 2,8	Merchandise£ 3,000,000
Treasure and } £ 1,5	Treasure and } £ 1,000,000
Bullion ...}	Bullion ...} £ 0,000
£ 4,300,000	£ 4,000,000

<i>Imports and Exports, 1855-56.</i>	
Imports, Merchandise, Treasure, and Bullion	£ 5,000,000
Exports, Merchandise, Treasure, and Bullion	£ 4,000,000
<hr/>	
£ 9,000,000	

This may still be an excessive estimate, but if we exceed at all here, it must be remembered on the other hand that we have not included the trade of the minor ports of the Bombay Presidency.

Before passing into the aggregates presented by all the foregoing details, it may be interesting to notice the nature of this trade. It is stated in the report for 1853-54, that the total number of square rigged vessels which had imported into the Straits in the preceding year, was 1,124 of 382,032 tons, and the number that had exported was 1,152 of 380,688 tons, exclusive of 1,605 vessels of 189,115 tons, trading between the three stations. Of native craft, 4,559 vessels, aggregating 115,619 tons

had imported, and 5,384 aggregating 112,187 tons had exported, exclusive of 1,273 vessels aggregating 46,768 tons, trading between the three stations.

The following statement is given by the Commissioner as an illustration of the value of these settlements to the Mother country, and of their relations to the Dutch Colonies, demonstrating "the judicious selection of Singapore, as an emporium, and its advantages as a free port":—

Trade of Penang.

Imports in 1853-54 .....	.. £ 19,962
Ditto in 1852-53	33,027
	—
Exports in 1853-54	33
Ditto in 1852-53	—
	—
Total Increase in	£ 42,506
	—
..... £ 62,468	—

Trade of Singapore with Britain.

Imports in 1853-54	1,184,333
Ditto in 1852-53	790,610
	—
Increase,	£ 393,723
Exports in 1853-54	£ 564,142
Ditto in 1852-53	£ 407,696
	—
Increase,	£ 156,446
	—
Total Increase in 1853-54, ...	£ 550,169

Trade of Singapore with the Australian Colonies.

Imports in 1853-54	£ 118,249
Ditto in 1852-53	£ 27,922
	—
Increase,	£ 90,327
Exports in 1853-54	£ 167,633
Ditto in 1852-53	£ 115,809
	—
Increase,	£ 51,824
	—
Total Increase in 1853-54,	£ 142,151

Trade of Singapore with Java, Macassar, Rhio, Bally, Somback, and Sambawa.

Imports in 1853-54	£ 491,552
Ditto in 1852-53	£ 274,393
	Increase, £ 217,159
Exports in 1853-54	£ 347,535
Ditto	£ 211,856
	Increase, £ 135,679
Total in 1853-54,	£ 352,838

The articles
were cotton goods,
about £ 850,000, grain
goods, opium, sugar,
were cheroots, birds'
opium, silk goods, sp

Of the vessels that
following is the list:—

Austrian	1	Native (Flag)	20
American	47	Portuguese	14
Arabian	9	Peruvian	2
Belgian	3	Prussian	3
Bremen	8	Russian	2
Danish	9	Siamese	25
Dutch	179	Swedish	15
French	18	Spanish	6
Hambro.....	21	British	644
Norwegian	2		

The Cosmopolitan character of Malacca and of Penang (the port of Prince of Wales' Island) is very similar.

In referring to all these foregoing statements, we find the following results:—

Total Trade, 1853-54.

Bengal	£ 19,766,112
Madras	£ 6,808,179
Bombay	£ 17,945,550
Pegu	£ 726,338
Straits' Settlements	£ 6,000,000
	£ 51,246,179

Total Trade, 1854-55.

Bengal	£ 19,825,602
Madras	£ 5,776,194
Bombay	£ 16,035,101
Pegu	£ 1,608,840
Straits' Settlements	£ 8,300,000
	£ 51,545,237

1855

Bengal	£ 21,865,218
Madras	£ 1,930,856
Bombay	£ 9,000,000
Pegu	
Straits' Settlements	
	£ 68,096,428

Oct. 1st. In form, as follows:—

Imports, 1855.

Bengal	£ 8,219,
Madras	£ 2,741,2
Bombay	£ 8,438,3
Pegu	£ 344,7.
Straits' Settlements.....	£ 3,000,00
	£ 22,744,249

Exports, 1853-54.

	£ 11,546,224
	£ 4,066,917
	£ 9,507,188
	£ 381,601
	£ 3,000,000
	£ 28,501,930

Imports, 1854-55.

Bengal	£ 7,758,258
Madras	£ 2,560,691
Bombay	£ 7,865,221
Pegu	£ 755,827
Straits' Settlements	£ 4,300,000
	£ 23,239,997

Exports, 1854-55.

	£ 12,067,344
	£ 3,215,503
	£ 8,169,880
	£ 852,513
	£ 4,000,000
	£ 28,305,240

Imports, 1855-56.

Bengal	£ 14,367,942
Madras	£ 3,685,056
Bombay	£ 11,577,303
Pegu	£ 1,267,071
Straits' Settlements.....	£ 5,000,000
	£ 35,897,372

Exports, 1855-56.

	£ 13,888,891
	£ 3,358,965
	£ 10,287,915
	£ 663,785
	£ 4,000,000
	£ 32,199,056

We do not propose to proceed to any detailed consideration of the trade of 1856-57, ending the 30th April last, as complete returns are not at present available; but the following estimate, though not absolutely accurate, will be found very nearly so. It includes only Calcutta, the Madras territories, and the Bombay territories.

CALCUTTA, 1856-57.

		<i>Exports.</i>
	Merchandise.....	£13,618,626
Imports	Treasure	£ 1,003,676
		<hr/> £14,622,302

MADRAS TERRITORIES, 1856-57.

<i>Imports.</i>		<i>Exports.</i>
Merchandise.....	£2,	£,98
Treasure	£1,	15
		<hr/> £3, 113

BOMBAY, 1856-57.

<i>Imports.</i>		<i>Exports.</i>	
Merchandise	£7,629,221	Merchandise	£10,983,008
Treasure	£8,248,361	Treasure.....	£ 1,588,873
		<hr/> £15,877,582	<hr/> £12,571,881

The foregoing results, it must be observed, are afforded, (as to all but the Straits' Settlements) by the official values. It then becomes an important and interesting question, how far these official estimates are true criteria of the real value. That the official value, on the whole, affords a correct index in the case of the imports, appears to be admitted: being, it may be, erroneous, in respect of some articles, by too high a valuation, and erroneous by too low a valuation in respect of others; but on the whole affording a fair estimate of the aggregate value of the imports—at least in Bengal. But this is not so, at present, in respect of the exports, as we shall proceed to show. Enough, however, has already been stated to warrant Adam Smith's

suggestion, that "the East Indies offered a market for the manufactures of Europe greater and more extensive than Europe and Asia put together."

These results too recall Lord Grenville's most masterly and noble speech in 1813: the greatest speech ever delivered on Indian affairs. At that time the aggregate of the trade of India with Great Britain, was not £2,500,000 a year, (Exports and Imports), and the evidence given for the East India Company, by its witnesses, was of any extended demand for European gravely propounded by eminent monopoly—Warren Hastings, Malcolm, and others. But said the House of Lords :—

"To what extent this trade of India indeed would be the man who would at what distance, what conjecture would be made, what past experience that 'No commerce,' Treating from a campaign in Britain, would Roman Senate; 'no commerce can ever be opened with the dreary wilds of North America, a land covered with impenetrable forests, the shelter only of some wandering tribes of the rudest and most ferocious savages.' Yet of these predictions, the folly might be palliated by inexperience. In the defect of better knowledge, such conjectures might even pass for wisdom. But what shall we say to those, who deny the possibility, not of opening new sources for the commerce of mankind, but of enlarging its present channels—who tell us that the trade we now carry on with India, must, in all future times, be limited to its actual amount? Strange and unprecedented necessity, which has thus set bounds to human industry and enterprise, arresting the progress of commercial intercourse, and by some blasting and malignant influence, blighted the natural increase of social improvement! With full and confident assurance, may we repel these idle apprehensions. By commerce commerce will increase, and industry by industry. So it has ever happened, and the Great Creator of the world has not exempted India from this common law of our nature. The supply, first following the demand, will soon extend it. By new facilities, new wants and new desires will be produced. And neither climate nor religion, nor long established habits—no, nor even poverty itself, the greatest of all present obstacles, will ultimately refuse the bene-

sits of such an intercourse to the native population of that empire. They will derive from the extension of commerce, as every other people has uniformly derived from it, new comforts and new conveniences of life, new incitements to industry, and new employments, in just reward of increased activity and enterprise."

So spake the statesman ; and history records the begun fulfilment of his prediction, and encourages the confident belief, that larger aut^b "than ever" illustrious man himself pro-
ba^b realized before a century has
magnificent oration. The point
hed, will be now ascertained by
the exports of the year we have
question of gradual progress will
fin.

It is at all times of course particularly articles to be valued plan in large ports is values, based on fair average always be much uncertain under-valuation, or even excessive duties. In the prices of the various sorts nine rupees eight annas four annas, and the combined average price for all sorts of that one kind of sugar was seven rupees or fourteen shillings; for the various sorts of another kind, the range was from seven rupees to four rupees; the general average being five rupees ten annas; and for the third kind the range for various sorts was, from six rupees fourteen annas to three rupees twelve annas, the combined average for this kind being five rupees two annas. This was the range of markets for Benares, Date, and Dummah Sugar. But this affords very little guide in now estimating the real value of this article, which is exported free of duty. Much less will any returns of this description afford an accurate guide for articles on which there is a duty levied on the real value; it being evidently anything but the interest of the exporter to assist the Custom House, in assessing the utmost value. Moreover, while the returns afford evidence of the gross quantities shipped, and it is easy to ascertain the range of prices for any particular descriptions of an article; it is almost impossible, when the fluctuation of prices has been considerable and frequent, when there is no mode of testing the relative amounts and proportions of the different sorts of such an article shipped, to deter-

mine absolutely what the real value of any past year's shipments has been. It is clear, however, that if there has been a decided general rise in prices, and that the chief activity in shipping prevailed at the time when prices were highest, then any return of values based on precisely the same data as to prices, as were used under the lower standard of the previous year, must be erroneous. And such was precisely the case with the Bengal Exports of 1855-56. We have ~~on one calculation by a very competent person, which makes the value of~~ ~~of 1856~~ to be £19,922,803; but this high estimate ~~includes the cost of~~ ~~and shipping charges, duties, commission, &c. &c.~~ having been adopted, in that ~~case~~, with reference to ~~the~~ calculations respecting the Exchange. Our expression, from ~~on the subject,~~ ~~value of the Exports~~ ~~is based at £13,888,391,~~ ~~value of the Imports is based~~ ~~insurance, and freight,~~ ~~as our market value,~~ ~~value. We need not indeed~~ ~~add the freight of Exports, as it is usually paid in India, but~~ ~~other charges, to the amount of more than ten per cent., must be~~ ~~added, making the aggregate value of Exports, to be repaid in~~ ~~India, by Merchandise, or Bullion, and remittances of the Company's Bills for our tribute, probably £18,000,000. But it is to~~ ~~be remembered that not all the Imports can be set off against~~ ~~the Exports, for some certainly come to this country for permanent investment. Such is the case with importations of Railway materials.~~

A very brief examination of details will illustrate our position as to the market value, as contrasted with the official. Taking Linseed for example, the official value at two rupees for 2,538,225 Indian maunds, (about 900,00 tons), was £507,824; but it may be questioned, if four rupees a maund was too high an average for the whole of the Linseed shipped in that year. This would give £1,015,648. The difference in Saltpetre was not so remarkable, but still the real value exceeded considerably the official. In the case of Jute, the official value for 1,194,470 maunds, was £327,476, at ten rupees a bale of three hundred pounds; but a very careful calculation gives an average of at least twelve rupees eight annas, or twenty-five per cent. additional. In the case of rice, the official value of 9,187,259 maunds, (328,000 tons), was £1,047,133; but we believe that at least one rupee a maund may fairly be added to this estimate, giving a result of upwards of

£ 900,000 additional. On this article there is a fixed duty of one anna and a half a maund, and there is consequently no reason for concealment of the value; and now steps are being taken, by monthly returns from the Chamber of Commerce, to ascertain the value accurately. In the case of Raw Silk, the duty is three annas and a half per seer, (or two pounds), and in this case also the real value probably could henceforth be easily ascertained. The official value given for 18,229 maunds, in 1855-56, was £703,822, that is

per seer. It is difficult now to form an opinion as to what object with any confidence, from the varieties of Silk that are in the market, but on the whole it may probably be stated with tolerable accuracy that eleven rupees eight annas would be a fair average, given also, an increase of twenty-five per cent. in Mustard Seed, of which a hundred maunds were valued (at two rupees per maund) at £261,54. Linseed ; or a hundred chests are valued officially correct, and the official if it does not indeed exceed series of articles : Indigo, Castor Oil, Gunnies, and Seed, Provisions, Rum, to say that twenty or thirty-five per cent. on the average, might be fairly added to the official value. The rise of prices in the course of the official year was undoubtedly very great, and continued almost up to its termination. The news of the peace was entirely unexpected, and did not reach Calcutta in a definite and authentic form till March.

The rise in the prices in the other Presidencies, probably was not so great, and the consequent temporary disparity between the real and the tariff value, not so great as in Bengal. But if it be stated generally, that the real market value of Exports from the three Presidencies, Pegu and the Straits, was thirty-six or thirty-seven millions sterling, instead of £32,199,056, as previously calculated from the official returns, or nearly *forty millions*, with the duties and charges, few perhaps will question the accuracy of the supposition.

The general subject of prices in India is one of much interest and importance, but at present, it is too early to reach any definite conclusion. In the interior it is notorious that prices of produce, of labour, and of boat hire, have risen greatly. Shippers, the Railway Company, and the Government alike feel it.

But as new modes of communication are created, a vast increase will occur in the quantities of produce brought to market, and probably also in the amount of labour available; and a re-action may begin. In some articles the rise in the market value, during the last five years, has been remarkable—in some articles more than a hundred per cent.; and these articles of increasing export,—such as Seeds, Rice, and Jute. The immediate result is so great a rise in the retail price of the chief articles of a Bengali's consumption, that these are the consequences. But the tendency is to a complete rise in wages, and to increased production, with the consequent increase of wealth. But the rest of the means of internal communication render the process of communication more difficult here than in more favored countries. Thus monopoly to the productions of a particular district artificially raise the prices of products that the country does not already require for its own consumption, and but so very large a part of this produce which are at present inaccessible, that the quantity from year to year, harvested after harvest, which cannot reach the great markets to equalize the general prices throughout all the districts.

It is however exceedingly interesting and gratifying to notice the progress made in the external commerce, as an indication that the expanse of country, and portion of the population concerned in the country trade, must have increased and must still be rapidly increasing. The facts on this subject are of a very remarkable character, and deserve careful consideration, not merely as proofs of the great change already effected by freedom of commerce, since 1813, but also as affording substantial ground for the expectation of greatly enlarged advances.

The earliest return of the tonnage entered inwards at Calcutta, is for the year 1795-96. Up to year 1829-30, the period to which the return extends, the following was the number of vessels from the United Kingdom and all parts beyond India :—

YEARS.	GRAND TOTAL.	
	Ships.	Tons.
1795—96.....	470	57,696
1796—97.....	52	63,924
1797—98.....	139	52,464
1798—99.....	121	43,349
1799—1800.....	145	47,403
1800—1.....	170	54,759
1801—2.....	153	52,944
1802—3.....	205	51,293
1803—4.....	177	61,027
1804—5.....	185	69,557
1805—6.....	210	82,814
1806—7.....	245	92,652
1807—8.....	194	72,514
1808—9.....	151	50,515
1809—10.....	168	63,151
1810—11.....	200	69,179
1811—12.....	225	87,124
1812—13.....	226	84,228
1813—14.....	222	77,192
1814—15.....	200	68,928
1815—16.....	291	94,966
1816—17.....	369	142,006
1817—18.....	428	161,346
1818—19.....	395	157,441
1819—20.....	273	103,553
1820—21.....	261	104,932
1821—22.....	261	102,864
1822—23.....	286	116,641
1823—24.....	228	87,524
1824—25.....	274	111,641
1825—26.....	244	97,281
1826—27.....	245	97,067
1827—28.....	304	111,233
1828—29.....	278	110,214
1829—30.....	236	89,675

We quote from the return in the Appendix to the Report of the House of Commons, in 1832—as published by the Court of Directors, in 1833. The notes to it indicate the constant persuasion of the Reporter of external commerce, that the opening of the trade with India in 1813 was a very doubtful measure. It is true that the Imports from Great

Britain rose from about fifty-three lakhs of sicca rupees, (or about £650,000), in 1813-1814 to 1,59,44,495 sicca rupees, or nearly two millions sterling, in 1818-19; but then that "burst of enterprise and speculation" recoiled on its promoters. In 1821-22, it is remarked that "the demand for the produce and manufactures of Europe, must be confined to a few articles only, and the average of the preceding five years is regarded as too favorable a prospect." But following up the case beyond the date of this return, we find a ~~short~~ ~~statement~~ on this opinion, thus propounded in Calcutta, and prepared for publication to the world at the East India House! We will confine ourselves to a series of years, which we shall presently have to review for other purposes, remising however, that the last extract given by the Court in 1832 from its ~~Cases~~ ~~Report~~, is as follows: "We submit a retrospect of the last five years, drawing a comparison between the five years last past, and the five years antecedent to that period, the aggregate result of which is a decrease in the trade both in the Imports and Exports."

SHIPS AND TONNAGE ARRIVED AT CALCUTTA.

	<i>Square Rigged Vessels.*</i>	<i>Tonnage.</i>
1833-34	339	124,160
1834-35	223	120,635
1835-36	312	111,400
1843-44	574	237,274
1844-45	668	454,547
1845-46	669	290,260
1853-54	677	397,930
1854-55	866	481,188
1855-56	1,134	650,320

The following may suffice for illustrations of the tonnage that entered the Ports of the Madras Territories, and the Bombay Presidency, commencing with the earliest return—in 1802, as published by the Court of Directors.

* This is intended to exclude Native Craft, but some such seem to have been included in the preceding statement.—Dhonies from the Maldives.

MADRAS.

	<i>Ships.</i>	<i>Tonnage.</i>
1802	88	38,342
1807 (including Native Craft)	2,045	110,009
1812-13	936	76,497
1817-18	1,160	90,789
1822-23	1,185	96,781
1827-28	1,918	109,537
1829-30 (the last in this return)	2,239	110,571

The other papers before us, as to this Presidency, only enable us to add the following supplement :

1844-45	6,181	430,295
1847-48	5,858	448,712
1853-54	5,196	543,893
1854-55	5,426	510,633
1855-56	6,503	695,565

BOMBAY PRESIDENCY.

1802-3 (this is the earliest return) ..	83	33,155
1807-8	82	37,069
1812-13	85	30,847
1817-18	139	59,801
1822-23	120	48,118
1827-28	152	69,241
1829-30 (the latest in this return) ..	132	63,548

This may probably represent square rigged vessels only. With it we may compare the following :

PORT OF BOMBAY ONLY.

	<i>Square Rigged Vessels.</i>	<i>Tonnage.</i>
1843-44	378	169,187
1844-45	337	145,057

And the following result of 1855-56 for the whole Presidency :—

ARRIVALS, 1855-56.

	<i>Square rigged vessels and Native craft.</i>	<i>Tonnage.</i>
Bombay	6,165	452,927
Other Ports in the Bombay Presidency.	5,459	96,270
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	11,624	5,49,197
	<hr/>	<hr/>

The progress of the trade of each Presidency may be ascer-

tained, however, by other returns. The following is a table showing the external trade of Bengal from 1813-14 to 1855-56 inclusive:—

Statement showing the Trade, Imports and Exports.

Years.	Imports value.	Exports value.	Total value.
1813—14...	£ 2,266,668	£ 4,645,106	£ 6,911,774
1814—15 ..	2,712,642	4,749,950	7,462,592
1815—16 ..	3,617,934	5,641,083	9,259,017
1816—17 ..	6,210,844	6,135,335	12,346,179
1817—18 ..	6,305,123	6,541,790	12,846,913
1818—19 ..	8,207,800	6,189,536	14,397,336
1819—20 ..	5,860,664	6,097,881	11,958,545
1820—21 ..	4,651,649	5,803,261	10,454,910
1821—22 ..	4,805,303	6,594,951	11,400,254
1822—23 ..	4,415,591	6,700,344	11,115,935
1823—24 ..	3,936,765	6,279,833	10,216,598
1824—25 ..	4,079,818	6,610,803	9,690,621
1825—26 ..	3,655,673	5,677,862	9,333,535
1826—27 ..	3,436,083	5,234,135	8,670,218
1827—28 ..	4,219,917	6,400,809	10,620,726
1828—29 ..	3,709,510	5,204,515	8,914,025
1829—30 ..	3,168,613	5,668,688	9,137,301
1830—31 ..	3,338,665	5,417,716	8,756,381
1831—32 ..	2,800,815	5,818,172	8,618,987
1832—33 ..	2,509,301	5,669,477	8,178,778
1833—34 ..	2,569,445	5,552,034	8,121,479
1834—35 ..	2,949,431	4,590,902	7,440,333
1835—36 ..	3,155,898	5,989,431	9,145,329
1836—37 ..	4,042,907	7,401,036	11,443,943
1837—38 ..	4,171,564	7,554,488	11,726,052
1838—39 ..	4,400,000	7,337,691	11,737,691
1839—40 ..	5,639,232	7,382,419	13,021,651
1840—41 ..	6,592,825	8,809,871	15,202,696
1841—42 ..	6,168,092	8,762,765	14,930,857
1842—43 ..	6,273,308	7,923,502	14,196,810
1843—44 ..	6,929,386	10,601,683	17,531,069
1844—45 ..	8,487,961	10,527,307	19,015,268
1845—46 ..	6,966,348	10,601,269	17,567,617
1846—47 ..	7,230,511	9,894,849	17,125,360
1847—48 ..	6,186,565	9,343,200	15,529,765
1848—49 ..	6,392,109	10,201,458	16,593,567
1849—50 ..	7,369,012	11,150,566	18,519,578
1850—51 ..	7,935,967	10,818,058	18,754,025
1851—52 ..	10,226,007	11,111,770	21,337,777
1852—53 ..	9,394,283	12,114,686	21,508,969
1853—54 ..	8,219,888	11,546,224	19,766,112
1854—55 ..	7,758,258	12,067,344	19,825,602
1855—56 ..	14,367,942	13,888,391	28,256,333

The Report of External Commerce of Bombay for 1855-56 contains the following table for the same period, but it is confined to the trade with the United Kingdom:—

Abstract Statement of the value of Trade between the Port of Bombay and the United Kingdom, since the opening of the Trade, exclusive of the Company's Investments, from 1813-14 to 1855-56.

No.	Years.	Imports.	Exports and Re-exports.
		£	£
1	1813-14...	92,698	305,154
2	1814-15...	139,865	277,589
3	1815-16...	230,329	259,467
4	1816-17...	298,453	201,846
5	1817-18...	489,519	476,000
6	1818-19...	709,023	773,615
7	1819-20...	560,250	568,060
8	1820-21...	361,621	148,972
9	1821-22...	439,420	253,839
10	1822-23...	562,471	524,650
11	1823-24...	557,131	595,385
12	1824-25...	502,404	588,788
13	1825-26...	430,242	649,246
14	1826-27...	495,587	393,881
15	1827-28...	819,693	568,592
16	1828-29...	781,248	833,767
17	1829-30...	911,606	547,329
18	1830-31...	1,106,636	684,009
19	1831-32...	902,315	636,026
20	1832-33...	1,108,268	1,041,773
21	1833-34...	904,239	1,018,479
22	1834-35...	940,584	969,547
23	1835-36...	1,248,196	1,461,700
24	1836-37...	1,324,191	1,352,931
25	1837-38...	1,127,911	854,427
26	1838-39...	1,117,765	764,969
27	1839-40...	1,387,373	1,190,846
28	1840-41...	1,946,290	1,663,180
29	1841-42...	1,723,923	1,836,709
30	1842-43...	1,947,865	1,350,405
31	1843-44...	2,433,571	1,704,674
32	1844-45...	2,415,978	1,229,692
33	1845-46...	1,748,268	911,308
34	1846-47...	1,520,328	1,382,111
35	1847-48...	1,358,888	1,195,863
36	1848-49...	1,599,361	1,243,111
37	1849-50...	2,721,204	1,871,417
38	1850-51...	2,866,009	2,406,557
39	1851-52...	2,684,598	1,647,677
40	1852-53...	2,931,975	2,938,595
41	1853-54...	3,161,530	2,655,482
42	1854-55...	3,253,453	2,395,412
43	1855-56...	3,195,012	3,413,780

The East India Company was a corporation of considerable influence and importance, when its exports were (in 1689) 4,520 tons in eleven vessels to "India, the South Seas and China." Its progress subsequently is, in some measure, traced in the able review of the External Commerce of Bengal published in 1830, by Mr. J. Bell, then of the Calcutta Custom House. But a new and complete review of the whole Commerce of the whole of India, at the present time, would be entitled to general attention, and is now much required. Sufficient materials, however, are supplied by the Parliamentary Reports to enable us to obtain a general impression of the course and tendency of the country's commercial developement. The Third Report of the Lords' Committee on Indian Territories in 1852-53, has a series of valuable appendices prepared by the Court of Directors. It is there stated that in the preceding years, India might be said to have enjoyed Free Trade by the abolition of Transit or Inland Duties, the removal of the Export Duties on Sugar and Cotton, and the equalization of the Duties on British and Foreign Ships. The total trade of India in the year following the Charter Act of 1833, and the year 1849-50, (which was selected probably, because it was the latest for which complete accounts had been received) was thus stated :—

IMPORTS.

	<i>Merchandise.</i>	<i>Treasure.</i>	<i>Total.</i>
1834-35	£ 4,261,106	£1,893,023	£ 6,154,129
1849-50	£ 10,299,888	£3,396,807	£ 13,696,695

EXPORTS.

1834-35	£ 7,993,420	£ 194,740	£ 8,188,160
1849-50	£ 17,312,299	£ 971,244	£ 18,283,543

A valuable table follows, showing the progress in detail in these years. We again give the amounts in sterling money at two shillings the rupee :—

Value of the Imports into India from the United Kingdom and other Countries, from 1834-35 to 1849-50.

Years.	MERCHANTIZE.			Treasure.
	United King-dom.	Other Coun-ries.	Total.	
1834—35	£ 2,682,221	£ 1,578,884	£ 4,261,105	£ 1,893,023
1835—36	3,135,410	1,646,437	4,781,847	2,146,465
1836—37	3,830,504	1,706,486	5,536,990	2,036,167
1837—38	3,210,663	1,821,807	5,032,470	2,640,101
1838—39	3,505,930	1,731,746	5,240,676	3,010,919
1839—40	4,289,489	1,541,747	5,831,236	1,945,264
1840—41	6,014,330	2,401,600	8,415,939	1,786,253
1841—42	5,439,564	2,349,000	7,788,564	1,841,335
1842—43	5,354,901	2,218,701	7,603,602	3,443,291
1843—44	6,317,349	2,470,448	8,817,797	4,794,678
1844—45	7,952,179	2,801,886	10,754,065	3,752,471
1845—46	6,477,143	2,610,336	9,087,479	2,495,958
1846—47	6,420,404	2,476,260	8,896,664	2,939,922
1847—48	5,790,228	2,807,388	8,597,616	1,973,391
1848—49	5,512,110	2,832,693	8,344,803	4,204,503
1849—50	7,578,980	2,720,907	10,299,887	3,396,807

Value of the Exports into the United Kingdom and other Countries in each year, from 1834-35 to 1849-50.

Years.	MERCHANTIZE.			Treasure.
	United King-dom.	Other Coun-ries.	Total.	
1834—35	£ 3,056,973	£ 4,936,447	£ 7,993,420	£ 194,740
1835—36	3,975,303	7,131,194	11,106,497	108,109
1836—37	4,915,470	8,324,713	13,240,183	203,934
1837—38	4,353,822	6,888,958	11,242,780	340,656
1838—39	4,513,159	7,261,610	11,774,769	347,905
1839—40	5,969,951	4,892,793	10,862,744	470,523
1840—41	7,054,388	6,401,196	13,455,584	366,485
1841—42	7,120,748	6,704,469	13,825,217	515,075
1842—43	5,820,965	7,730,858	13,551,823	215,796
1843—44	7,760,128	9,493,348	17,253,476	746,076
1844—45	7,240,619	9,349,592	16,590,211	1,106,840
1845—46	6,658,943	10,369,730	17,028,673	816,028
1846—47	6,511,686	8,843,751	15,355,437	713,869
1847—48	5,683,826	7,628,570	13,312,396	1,426,038
1848—49	6,191,959	9,896,542	16,088,501	2,539,742
1849—50	7,026,470	10,285,828	17,312,298	971,244

Continuing this table with the details of trade with the United Kingdom for the succeeding six years, we have the following results:—

Value of the Imports from the United Kingdom and other Countries in each year, from 1850-51 to 1855-56.

Years.	MERCHANTIZE.			Treasure.
	United Kingdom.	Other Countries.	Total.	
1850-51.				
Bengal.....	£ 5,274,930	£ 1,378,791	£ 6,653,724	£ 1,149,233
Madras.....	545,648	808,844	1,354,492	604,243
Bombay.....	2,838,189	3,491,341	6,329,530	2,399,530
	8,658,767	5,678,979	14,337,746	4,153,006
1851-52.				
Bengal.....	5,965,218	1,428,073	7,493,291	2,496,315
Madras.....	511,246	831,007	1,342,253	617,914
Bombay.....	2,655,613	3,207,732	5,863,345	2,459,082
	9,132,077	5,466,812	14,698,889	5,573,311
1852-53.				
Bengal.....	4,502,610	1,030,950	5,533,560	3,496,623
Madras.....	489,415	838,345	1,327,760	1,087,811
Bombay.....	2,642,515	3,502,706	6,145,222	2,866,703
	7,634,540	5,372,001	13,006,542	7,451,137
1853-54.				
Bengal.....	5,137,117	930,417	6,067,564	2,152,322
Madras.....	650,012	985,221	1,635,223	1,106,029
Bombay.....	2,955,107	3,219,716	6,174,824	2,263,538
	8,742,236	5,135,384	13,877,611	5,521,889
1854-55.				
Bengal.....	5,343,338	1,720,034	7,063,372	694,886
Madras.....	792,338	1,120,158	1,912,496	648,195
Bombay.....	3,426,239	3,061,507	6,487,747	1,337,478
	9,561,915	5,901,699	15,463,615	2,680,559
1855-56.				
Bengal.....	6,692,294	1,664,523	8,356,717	6,011,225
Madras.....	981,231	1,132,156	2,313,387	1,371,669
Bombay.....	2,999,420	3,704,502	6,603,923	4,973,380
	10,672,945	6,501,181	17,274,027	12,356,274

Value of the Exports to the United Kingdom and other Countries in each year, from 1850-51 to 1855-56.

Years.	MERCHANTIZE.			Treasure.
	United Kingdom.	Other Countries.	Total.	
1850-51.				
Bengal.....	£ 4,937,470	£ 5,512,476	£ 10,449,946	£ 278,142
Madras	752,664	1,811,118	2,563,782	119,769
Bombay	2,406,554	4,958,344	7,364,898	654,674
1851-52.	8,096,688	12,281,938	20,378,626	1,052,585
Bengal.....	£ 4,937,470	£ 5,512,476	£ 10,449,946	£ 278,142
Madras	697,589	1,798,033	2,496,522	234,269
Bombay	1,647,430	6,887,969	8,535,399	955,396
1852-53.	7,282,489	14,199,378	21,481,867	1,467,807
Bengal.....	£ 4,377,834	£ 6,836,261	£ 11,214,095	£ 507,997
Madras	1,101,588	2,183,460	3,285,048	415,383
Bombay	2,938,595	5,426,742	8,365,337	1,092,323
1853-54.	8,418,017	14,446,463	22,864,480	2,015,693
Bengal.....	£ 3,803,142	£ 7,258,013	£ 11,061,155	£ 485,069
Madras	1,046,902	1,950,833	2,997,735	1,069,482
Bombay	2,655,482	5,327,011	7,982,493	1,524,695
1854-55.	7,505,526	14,535,857	22,041,383	3,079,246
Bengal.....	£ 3,877,568	£ 7,638,765	£ 11,516,633	£ 551,011
Madras	697,979	1,696,829	2,394,808	810,043
Bombay	2,363,468	5,102,314	7,465,782	704,099
1855-56.	6,939,015	14,437,908	21,012,223	2,065,155
Bengal.....	£ 4,943,547	£ 8,689,483	£ 13,633,030	£ 255,361
Madras	975,221	1,941,869	2,917,090	441,875
Bombay	3,413,780	5,529,118	8,943,898	1,349,016
	9,332,548	16,160,470	25,494,018	2,046,252

And the following is a memorandum of some of the items included in the trade from Bengal to other countries than Great Britain, as taken from Mr. Bonnaud's *Commercial Annual of Calcutta* :—

MERCHANTIZE. FRANCE.

	Imports.	Exports.
1854-55.....	£ 139,494	£ 487,975
1855-56.....	£ 249,496	£ 753,772

NORTH AMERICA.

	<i>Imports.</i>	<i>Exports.</i>
1854-55.....	£ 120,154	£ 876,508
1855-56.....	£ 89,548	£ 1,033,840

CHINA.

1854-55.....	£ 240,395	£ 3,306,621
1855-56.....	£ 201,562	£ 3,284,884

NEW HOLLAND AND SYDNEY.

1854-55.....	£ 51,483	£ 116,178
1855-56.....	£ 34,796	£ 148,786

SINGAPORE.

1854-55.....	£ 81,958	£ 501,793
1855-56.....	£ 80,830	£ 572,158

ARABIAN AND PERSIAN GULFS.

1854-55.....	£ 75,136	£ 106,457
1855-56.....	£ 65,517	£ 108,467

MADRAS AND COROMANDEL COAST.

1854-55.....	£ 125,510	£ 221,282
1855-56.....	£ 104,547	£ 185,574

BOMBAY AND MALABAR COAST.

1854-55.....	£ 207,644	£ 472,781
1855-56.....	£ 210,576	£ 456,657

PEGU.

1854-55.....	£ 102,064	£ 305,926
1855-56.....	£ 95,131	£ 378,810

MAURITIUS.

1854-55.....	£ 5,377	£ 202,279
1855-56.....	£ 3,923	£ 193,409

BOURBON.

1854-55.....	£ 5,097	£ 87,206
1855-56.....	£ 3,918	£ 171,478

Having regard in the foregoing tables to the official values as therein recorded, and not to the actual values and the charges which have to be added to the real values of the Exports, it might appear that the balance of trade to Great Britain was against India. But a consideration of the whole case will alter that opinion. And it is manifest as to other countries, that a very large amount has to be paid to India in Bullion, or other remittances, beyond the Merchandise imported. This would be

still more plain, were we to enter into the details of the trade of the other Presidencies; particularly that of Bombay with China. .

The question then occurs, how these payments are in fact made? The answer seems to be that by Exchange operations, negotiated chiefly in Great Britain, the balance is adjusted by the remittances of the Company's Bills to the amount of about three millions and a half annually, and by extensive Shipments of Treasure. In effect, as to China, Great Britain pays India for the Opium exported thither. The Chinese ship to Great Britain, Tea and Silk, to a great amount, without taking anything like a corresponding amount of British Manufacture in return. They receive their payment for these Exports to a large extent, in the seventy thousand chests of Opium they import. In other words, the British Importer of Silk and Tea provides in return, Opium, for which he must pay India in Merchandise, the Company's Bills, or Treasure. If to this branch of the trade we add the consideration of the balances which have to be adjusted between India and France, the United States, Australia, Mauritius, Bourbon, and Singapore, we shall not be surprised at the increasing Import of Treasure into India, but rather may reasonably anticipate both a continuance and augmentation of it.

A very curious and interesting subject remains, in the consideration of the progress made in the export of particular articles. The Appendix to the Report of the Committee of the House of Commons, from which we took the account of the tonnage, has some tables which shew both the quantities received at Calcutta from the interior of the Presidency of Bengal; and the quantities exported, in some instances, as far back as 1795.

The following are some of the results :—

COTTON.

Received.

1812-13 (the earliest return of the quantity received)	Cwts.*75,086	about 3,750 tons.
1817-18.....	783,411	„ 39,000 „
1822-23.....	158,167	„ 8,000 „
1827-28.....	566,852	„ 28,000 „
1829-30 (the latest return)	202,974	or 10,000 „

The largest export seems to have been in 1826-27, namely

* The return is given in Cwts. of eighty-two Bazar Maunds, or seventy-eight Factory Maunds, to the Cwt.

365,639 Cwts. or about 18,000 tons—a large part being for China.

* *Gunnies and Gunny Bags.*

1812-13	4,384,288 pieces.
1817-18	5,743,005 "
1822-23	3,228,451 "
1827-28	5,031,133 "
1829-30 (the latest return)	5,238,142 "

The return of exports extends back to 1795-96, and presents the following result:—

1795-96	100,375 pieces.
1799-1800	142,575 "

Then till 1823-24, the number of bales only is mentioned, and it affords no certain test; but the detail of pieces is resumed in 1823-24, and the totals, after that year, are thus stated:—

1823-24	609,040 pieces.
1824-25	711,315 "
1825-26	1,105,148 "
1826-27	1,420,804 "
1827-28	819,483 "
1828	1,013,277 "
1829	9,006,415 "

LAC OF SORTS.

Including, apparently, Lac Lake, Lac Dye, Shell Lac, Stick Lac, and Seed Lac.

Received at Calcutta.

1812-13	13,125 cwts.
1817-18	16,205 "
1822-23	5,986 "
1827-28	9,586 "
1829-30 (the latest return)	14,596 "

The Exports were:—
1795 of Lac and Shell Lac.. 50 maunds (of 82 lbs. to the maund.)
1799-1800 of all kinds .. 5,212 maunds.

Then there is no return till 1823-24, when 14,190 maunds of Lac and Shell Lac were exported. In 1828-29, the amount was 18,965 maunds of Lac and Shell Lac, and 1,985 of Stick Lac, and Seed Lac.

There is no account of the quantity of Jute received—but the quantity exported is mentioned in 1795-96 as 1,780 maunds, then there is no record of any other shipment, till 1826, when 6,061

maunds were exported, and in 1828-29, the quantity reached 14,565 maunds.

The following are notes of other articles now in extensive request:—

Received at Calcutta.

CASTOR OIL.

1823-24 (the first return)	3,508	cwts.
1825-26.....	8,818	"
1829-30 (the last return in this series)	4,313	"

OIL SEEDS.

1813-14 (the first return)	241,798	cwts.
1819-20.....	292,470	"
1823-24.....	289,332	"
1829-30.....	367,249	"

OPIUM.

1819 (the first return)	4,069	chests.
1824-25.....	7,390	"
1828-29.....	7,709	"
1829-30.....	8,778	"

SAFFLOWER.

1812 (first return)	3,079	cwts.
1817	2,350	"
1822-23.....	8,417	"
1827-28.....	3,692	"
1829-30.....	2,299	"

SALTPETRE.

1812-13.....	17,899	cwts.
1817-18.....	127,315	"
1822-23.....	198,871	"
1827-28.....	224,902	"
1829-30.....	235,712	"

SEEDS OF SORTS.

1812-13.....	292,025	cwts.
1817-18.....	25,800	"
1822-23.....	19,234	"
1827-28.....	15,498	"
1829-30.....	16,519	"

SILK.

1812-13 (the first return)	7,996	cwts.
1817-18	6,861	"
1822-23.....	12,456	"
1827-28.....	12,654	"
1829-30	18,054	"

SUGAR.

1812-13 (the first return)	120,180	ewts.
1817-18	345,273	"
1822-23	293,508	"
1827-28	197,702	"
1829-30	366,239	"

Of some articles the value only could be given. Among these, were Skins and Hides. The value of the quantities that were received at Calcutta was 290,049 Sicca Rupees, in 1823-24. equivalent then, to more than £30,000. Afterwards the value fell, and in 1829-30, it was only 94,000 rupees, or about £10,000.

The quantities exported of these articles may be stated as follows, as far as the tables afford information :—

SEEDS (*apparently all kinds except Indigo Seed.*)

1795-96 (the first return)	2,192	mds.
1823-24	1,295	"
1828-29	5,919	"
1829-30	2,939	"

The returns are imperfect from 1799-1800 to 1823-24, and it is not stated, if these are Bazar or Factory Maunds.

OPIUM.

1795-96 (the first return)	5,183	chests.
1800-1	4,788	"
1805-6	3,567	"
1810-11	4,909	"
1815-16	3,848	"
1820-21	5,147	"
1825-26	5,155	"
1829-30	9,678	"

SAFFLOWER.

1823-24 (the first return)	8,378	mds.
1828-29	8,040	"
1829-30	2,455	"

SALTPETRE.

1795	13,175	bags.
1800-1	25,188	"
1805-6	24,301	"
1810-11	947	"
1815-16	62,630	"
1820-21	175,143	"
1825	152,162	"
1829-30	176,062	"

SILK.

1795-96	109 mds.
1799-1800	1,899 "

The returns are incomplete till

1823-24	11,579 mds.
1828-29	18,724 "
1829-30	16,045 "

SUGAR.

1795.....	110,800 Bz. mds. of 82 lbs.
1799.....	240,004 "

The returns here also are incomplete.

1823-24.....	275,288 Bz. mds.
1828-29.....	361,871 "
1829-30.....	181,799 "

It would lead us into needless and excessive minuteness to enter into the details of other Presidencies. But as to Bengal, with a view to a fair comparison of progress in recent years, we may state some data as given by Mr. Bell, in the order in which he places them. We omit Indigo, because the production for many years has not substantially varied, except by the fluctuation of the seasons; and it may be doubted, if there is the prospect of a largely increased demand for it from Bengal.

SUGAR EXPORTED.

1824-25	226,047 Bz. mds. value £ 189,657
1825-26	191,146 " 153,103
1826-27	229,494 " 184,371
1827-28	105,346 " 84,482
1828-29	251,977 " 206,333

SALTPETRE.

1824-25	179,966 Bz. mds. £ 101,225
1825-26	295,208 " 172,007
1826-27	293,999 " 170,677
1827-28	302,659 " 180,685
1828-29	260,611 " 100,219

RAW COTTON.

1824-25	119,315 Bz. mds. £ 119,818
1825-26	92,879 " 92,882
1826-27	183,935 " 183,935
1827-28	6,717 " 6,576
1828-29	25,256 " 20,129

RAW SILK.

1824-25	4,815 Bz. mds.	£	123,933
1825-26	6,045 "		158,696
1826-27	2,734 "		71,916
1827-28	2,496 "		65,095
1828-29	6,543 "		178,152

LAC DYE.

1824-25	8,663 Bz. mds.	£	79,137
1825-26	9,308 "		80,071
1826-27	8,975 "		82,092
1827-28	9,046 "		73,722
1828-29	7,264 "		47,399

SHELL LAC.

1824-25	10,742 Bz. mds.	£	18,564
1825-26	9,053 "		16,832
1826-27	3,815 "		7,670
1827-28	5,542 "		10,868
1828-29	8,399 "		15,656

OPIUM.

1824-25	6,850 Chests.	£	876,669
1825-26	4,833 "		798,132
1826-27	5,462 "		872,989
1827-28	7,377 "		1,122,889
1828-29	7,324 "		1,019,649

SAFFLOWER.

1824-25	8,448 Bz. mds.	£	29,065
1825-26	7,100 "		24,515
1826-27	3,461 "		7,397
1827-28	1,801 "		3,546
1828-29	2,271 "		5,607

CASTOR OIL.

1824-25	2,762 Bz. mds.	£	4,202
1825-26	2,914 "		5,157
1826-27	1,188 "		2,108
1827-28	1,285 "		2,147
1828-29	3,179 "		4,941

GRAIN, INCLUDING RICE, WHEAT, AND PADDY.

1824-25	1,279,934 Bz. mds.	£	224,163
1825-26	1,611,023 "		233,573
1826-27	1,027,949 "		176,845
1827-28	1,239,723 "		201,173
1828-29	1,227,237 "		210,574

GUNNY AND GUNNY BAGS.

1824-25.....	935,245 pieces	£ 7,006
1825-26.....	1,965,442 "	16,215
1826-27.....	2,183,098 "	16,845
1827-28.....	1,843,129 "	13,277
1828-29.....	2,205,206 "	16,610

HIDES AND SKINS.

1824-25.....	377,294 pieces	£9,414
1825-26.....	322,391 "	9,384
1826-27.....	18,043 "	1,022
1827-28.....	48,530 "	2,227
1828-29.....	264,672 "	3,551

All the preceding tabular calculations are based on two shillings to a rupee; but as the rupees up to 1836 were Sicca Rupees (worth about 6 per cent. more than the Company's), and the exchange at times carried a rupee nearly up to two shillings and six pence, some considerable additions may be made to the amounts we have given. Perhaps twenty per cent. for the whole period will be an excessive average to add; but the table which we next present, (even if that valuation be made of the preceding shipments from 1792), will scarcely exhibit a less striking contrast. The tables we propose to give include all the articles we have just been considering, and for all the range of years from 1833 to 1850, two shillings was a fair average for the rupee.

CASTOR OIL.

1833-34.	1834-35.	1835-36.
Maunds....* 6,091	Maunds .. 11,463	Maunds .. 12,435
Value.....£9,349	Value ....£17,101	Value ....£16,748
1843-44.	1844-45.	1845-46.
Maunds .. 11,267	Maunds .. 22,701	Maunds .. 21,733
Value ....£11,259	Value ....£22,700	Value ....£21,732
1853-54.	1854-55.	1855-56.
Maunds .. 19,011	Maunds ... 25,370	Maunds .. 44,702
Value ....£13,323	Value .....£18,655	Value ....£35,774

RAW COTTON.

1833-34.	1834-35.	1835-36.
Maunds.. 143,555	Maunds... 336,827	Maunds .. 583,762
Value ..£143,250	Value ....£314,613	Value ....£587,292
1843-44.	1844-45.	1845-46.
Maunds... 201,457	Maunds... 201,874	Maunds.. 93,771
Value ....£202,514	Value ....£201,874	Value....£ 93,516

* These are all Indian maunds of eighty pounds.

1853-54.	1854-55.	1855-56.
Maunds.. 199 58	Maunds.. 91,347	Maunds... 173,908
Value ...£199 63	Value... £91,353	Value ....£173,853

LAC DYE.

1833-34.	1834-35	1835-36.
Maunds.... 9,590	Maunds..... 8,390	Maunds..... 12,066
Value .....£22,216	Value .....£19,692	Value .....£31,603
1843-44.	1844-45.	1845-46.
Maunds..... 16,881	Maunds.... 22,352	Maunds.... 17,934
Value .....£25,201	Value .....£44,213	Value .....£35,841
1853-34.	1854-55.	1855-56.
Maunds..... 35,481	Maunds..... 17,525	Maunds..... 27,995
Value .....£88,594	Value .....£46,078	Value .....£81,591

LAC (SHELL.)

1833-34.	1834-35.	1835-36.
Maunds..... 26,056	Maunds..... 19,890	Maunds..... 33,935
Value .....£60,412	Value .....£47,384	Value .....£72,409
1843-44.	1844-45.	1845-46.
Maunds..... 38,446	Maunds..... 42,626	Maunds..... 33,179
Value .....£30,857	Value .....£38,196	Value .....£29,919
1853-54.	1854-55.	1855-56.
Maunds..... 55,272	Maunds..... 47,225	Maunds..... 47,974
Value .....£50,931	Value .....£42,491	Value .....£43,458

LAC (STICK.)

1833-34.	1834-35	1835-36.
Maunds 104	Maunds 82	Maunds.... 1,470
Value£ 199	Value£ 85	Value£ 1,570
1843-34.	1844-45..	1845-46.
Maunds 770	Maunds 313	Maunds 831
Value£ 269	Value£ 109	Value£ 288
1853-54.	1854-55.	1855-56.
Maunds 748	Maunds.... 1,574	Maunds..... 1,606
Value£ 429	Value £1,036	Value .....£1,263

GUNNIES' CLOTHS AND BAGS.

1833-34.	1834-35.	1835-36.
Pieces ... 2,615,975	Pieces... 2,442,109	Pieces ... 2,287,893
Value ...£ 19,567	Value...£ 19,835	Value ...£ 24,094

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1813-44.	1844-45.	1845-46.
Pieces .. 5,761,424	Pieces .. 6,041,483	Pieces... 5,819,610
Value .. £68,849	Value ... £76,213	Value... £69,235
1853-54.	1854-55.	1855-56.
Pieces... 14,460,461	Pieces... 11,162,170	Pieces... 20,221,016
Value... £249,534	Value... £297,456	Value... £430,732
HIDES AND SKINS.		
1833-34.	1834-35.	1835-36.
Pieces... 1,251,577	Pieces... 1,146,782	Pieces... 1,549,492
Value ... £60,004	Value... £78,861	Value... £98,747
1843-44.	1844-45.	1845-46.
Pieces... 2,760,691	Pieces... 3,127,250	Pieces... 2,872,018
Value... £259,348	Value... £263,978	Value... £237,875
1853-54.	1854-55.	1855-56.
Pieces... 5,059,263	Pieces... 4,658,199	Pieces... 4,788,129
Value... £360,502	Value... £348,522	Value... £368,888
JUTE.		
1833-34.	1834-35.	1835-36.
Maunds... 67,805	Maunds... 33,851	Maunds... 16,916
Value..... £12,619	Value.... £5,610	Value..... £3,463
1843-44.	1844-45.	1845-46.
Maunds... 294,599	Maunds... 352,705	Maunds... 293,497
Value..... £55,293	Value..... £57,562	Value..... £45,518
1853-54.	1854-55.	1855-56.
Maunds... 660,548	Maunds... 904,002	Maunds... 1,194,470
Value ...£155,715	Value ...£227,721	Value.. £327,476
LINSEED.		
1833-34.	1834-35.	1835-36.
Nil.	Maunds... 77,791	Maunds... 163,190
,"	Value.... £16,412	Value... ... £33,603
1843-44.	1844-45.	1845-46.
Maunds... 210,026	Maunds ... 244,785	Maunds .. 255,926
Value..... £42,003	Value... ... £48,975	Value..... £51,188
1853-54.	1854-55.	1855-56.
Maunds... 982,399	Maunds. 2,436,326	Maunds. 2,538,225
Value ...£196,492	Value... £487,267	Value... £507,824

MUSTARD SEED.

1833-34. •	1834-35.	1835-36.
Nil.	Nil.	Nil.
1843-44.	1844-45.	1845-46.
Maunds... 52,037	Maunds... 61,671	Maunds ... 120,202
Value..... £10,407	Value..... £12,334	Value ... £24,019
1853-54.	1854-55.	1855-56.
Maunds... 202,026	Maunds ... 575,453	Maunds. 1,307,115
Value.... £40,520	Value ..£103,086	Value... £261,541

POPPY SEED.

1833-34.	1834-35.	1835-36.
Nil.	Nil.	Nil.
1843-44.	1844-45.	1845-46.
Nil.	Nil.	Nil.
1853-54.	1854-55.	1855-56.
Maunds... 65,986	Maunds ... 133,170	Maunds... 114,526
Value..... £13,257	Value..... £26,634	Value..... £22,932

OPIUM.

1833-34.	1834-35.	1835-36.
Chests... 12,006	Chests... 10,995	Chests... 14,851
Value...£1,240,382	Value...£1,079,549	Value... £1,765,768
1843-44.	1844-45.	1845-46.
Chests... 17,774	Chests... 18,792	Chests ... 20,481
Value.. £2,338,305	Value...£2,439,429	Value...£2,795,966
1853-54.	1854-55.	1855-56.
Chests... 40,787	Chests... 51,421	Chests ... 44,937
Value...£3,690,208	Value...£3,694,816	Value...£3,638,917

RICE.

1833-34.	1834-35.	1835-36.
Maunds . 2,667,465	Maunds . 2,126,978	Maunds . 1,455,316
Value .....£461,455	Value ... £322,269	Value .....£172,745
1843-44.	1844-45.	1845-46.
Maunds... 2,454,352	Maunds . 2,377,565	Maunds . 3,443,223
Value .....£337,879	Value..... £339,405	Value .....£543,639
1853-54.	1854-55.	1855-56.
Maunds . 4,380,903	Maunds . 5,273,964	Maunds 9,187,259
Value .....£518,384	Value..... £567,455	Value ...£1,047,133

WHEAT.

1833-34.	1834-35.	1835-36.
Maunds... 114,365	Maunds... 211,776	Maunds... 201,238
Value..... £16,400	Value £28,587	Value..... £27,147
1843-44.	1844-45.	1845-46.
Maunds... 137,139	Maunds... 164,022	Maunds... 187,414
Value..... £ 21,458	Value ... £24,564	Value ... £29,701
1853-54.	1854-55.	1855-56.
Maunds... 252,314	Maunds... 462,078	Maunds... 950,036
Value ... £28,978	Value..... £48,739	Value ... £100,469

OTHER GRAIN.

Paddy, Gram, Dholl and Peas, Oats, Flour, Barley, and Bran.

1833-34.	1834-35.	1835-36.
Maunds... 137,673	Maunds... 175,414	Maunds... 72,570
Value ... £27,040	Value ... £31,587	Value ... £10,240
1843-44.	1844-45.	1845-46.
Maunds... 148,127	Maunds... 129,532	Maunds... 176,464
Value..... £22,260	Value..... £16,351	Value ... £24,963
1853-54.	1854-55.	1855-56.
Maunds... 238,425	Maunds... 563,142	Maunds... 665,558
Value..... £36,000	Value ... £58,593	Value £59,420

SAFFLOWER.

1833-34.	1834-35	1835-36.
Maunds... 7,630	Maunds... 8,490	Maunds... 7,801
Value..... £18,763	Value..... £20,580	Value ... £18,225
1843-44.	1844-45.	1845-46.
Maunds..... 5,858	Maunds... 11,323	Maunds... 20,298
Value..... £8,202	Value..... £21,939	Value..... £42,184
1853-54.	1854-55.	1855-56.
Maunds... 27,491	Maunds... 26,179	Maunds... 15,495
Value..... £68,684	Value..... £68,270	Value..... £30,766

SALTPETRE.

1833-34.	1834-35.	1835-36.
Maunds... 490,554	Maunds... 368,308	Maunds... 408,001
Value ... £254,801	Value..... £187,003	Value £203,079
1843-44.	1844-45.	1845-46.
Maunds... 514,011	Maunds... 586,976	Maunds... 618,560
Value..... £270,145	Value..... £316,003	Value £350,649

1853-54.	1854-55.	1855-56.
Maunds... 872,886	Maunds... 796,243	Maunds... 737,273
Value.....£497,950	Value .....£458,109	Value .....£423,406

SUGAR.

1833-34.	1834-35.	1835-36.
Maunds... 290,363	Maunds... 358,515	Maunds... £68,760
Value.....£230,822	Value .....£279,059	Value .....£285,215
1843-44.	1844-45.	1845-46.
Maunds . 1,524,548	Maunds . 1,539,117	Maunds . 1,893,937
Value...£1,460,464	Value...£1,469,195	Value £1,789,318
1853-54.	1854-55.	1855-56.
Maunds... 942,391	Maunds . 1,212,077	Maunds . 1,221,393
Value ....£844,738	Value...£1,123,507	Value..£1,134,154

These figures will show the expansive power of the Bengal trade. In respect of Sugar in particular, it is probable, that had not slave-grown sugar been admitted into the United Kingdom, the annual export would, by this time, have reached the value of five millions sterling, with the prospect and capability of an indefinite increase. In other articles, (Seeds, Jute, Saltpetre, Opium, and Rice), it will be seen that the increase has already been extraordinary. In some years, a sudden increase, consequent on an unexpected demand, has occurred in articles which previously scarcely appeared to be staple products, and the demand has been rapidly met; and so it certainly would be with other articles. The continuance of the Russian war for another year or two, would probably have caused the Export of Hemp, which, in 1854-55, only amounted to £7,300, and rose in 1853-54 (in Hemp and Hemp Twine), to £35,000, and in 1854-55 to £38,000, to become one of the most important branches of trade.

The case of Silk requires special notice. Mr. Bell, in his retrospective view in the work we have already quoted, says: "It is not sufficiently known, that the trade in Bengal Silk, both in its raw and manufactured state, has been almost entirely engrossed by the Company; or at least that portion which falls to the lot of private individuals, has been so much enhanced by the powerful facilities of the former, that as an object of commercial gain, it is impossible to stand the test of competition. It is not difficult to foresee the result which is likely to crown this system of unprofitable trade, pursued with so much avidity by the agents of the Company, who being remunerated in proportion to the quantity of Raw Silk provided, have at once the power of crushing all private enterprise, and, by setting up a strong competition

among themselves, have raised the price to double of what it ought to be and might be."

The effects of this, alike on the manufacturer at home and the trade of India, were manifest. The export we have seen in 1828-29 was 6,543 maunds at a cost of £178,152. The subsequent course of trade was as follows: the Company's trade continuing for a few years with a view to its final extinction.

1833-34.	1834-35.	1835-36.
Private 3,280 Mds. Co.'s 10,269 ,,"	Private 6,176 Mds. Co.'s 8,022 ,,"	Private 10,494 Mds. Co.'s 4,189 ,,"
13,549 ,,"	14,198 ,,"	14,633
Value...£376,919	Value...£376,927	Value...£384,852
Company's trade terminated.		
1843-44.	1844-45.	1845-46.
Maunds..... 21,284	Maunds..... 22,343	Maunds..... 19,160
Value £836,954	Value £896,008	Value £764,846
1853-54.	1854-55.	1855-56.
Maunds..... 20,280	Maunds..... 15,109	Maunds..... 18,229
Value £831,567	Value £545,671	Value £703,822

Here then we see a rising demand, a corresponding supply, higher prices, and profits diffused not among a few commercial agents and their subordinates, to the loss of the East India Company, (as was the case formerly), but among the producers and the legitimate traders.

We cannot in the limits of this review enter more largely into the details of the Bengal trade. But the more salient points may be mentioned; and first as to Arracan. It was a swamp, almost useless and valueless, when first annexed, after the first Burmese war, thirty years ago. Its exports in 1854-55 were £571,473, and in 1855-56 were £1,072,921, almost entirely in Rice:—importing in payment very little besides silver, and that principally through Calcutta.

The character of the trade of Calcutta has undoubtedly greatly improved. Private trade by Englishmen was commenced chiefly by Civil Servants and Officers of the Company, who preferred mercantile pursuits and became Bankers or Agents. For many years nearly the whole of the private trade was carried on by their firms, called the Great Houses, and it appeared to be of the most princely and prosperous character. Many partners died very rich, many retired home and occupied positions of great influence, and the establishments both in England and in Calcutta were conducted with a lavish, and perhaps unrivalled mag-

nificence and extravagance. It was usual to make the partners' trustees in all the settlements of their constituents, and great numbers of the servants of government retired home, leaving their fortunes in the hands of those agents, bearing high interest. The first blow to the system occurred on the failure of the greatest of all the firms, Palmer and Co. The others followed in a few years; the aggregate liabilities of the whole of the six houses being fifteen millions sterling. The regime that succeeded was not much, if at all, better. The chief motive power to a considerable portion of the trade, was the Union Bank, which was started with a paid up capital of a million. In 1847, it failed, after having sacrificed that million, and half a million more belonging to depositors and others, in support of five or six other houses whose ruin had preceded its own, or immediately followed as a necessary consequence on its downfall. We have nothing whatever to retract from the statements and sentiments contained in our paper on this whole subject in this *Review*, for April, 1848,* nor do we think that the lessons of that time have hitherto been so perfectly learned, as to render all present reference to them superfluous and unnecessary. It is, we conceive, certain, that nothing occurred in the management at home, of Sir J. D. Paul's Bank, the Royal British Bank, or the London and Eastern Bank, (the management of which has led to the necessity for new and more stringent legislation), which had not in its parallel in the commercial proceedings of many in Calcutta, in the ten years preceding 1848. And if it be right now, for the press in England, to expose that management there, it was equally the duty of the press here, to expose those proceedings here. But we rejoice to know that a far better state of things has followed. There are not a few houses here now, (both British and Foreign) based on large capital, connected with capitalists elsewhere, managed by able and judicious men;—houses as different as it is possible to be, from those of former years, whose extravagance and folly were only equalled by their arrogance and emptiness. The trade here consequently is animated by the genuine spirit of commercial enterprise: enterprise regulated by prudence, and not stimulated to wild speculation by artificial credit. It is a trade expanding with the success of its traders in due proportion and measure; sound, we believe, as the trade of any place that can be mentioned; and destined, we doubt not, to an immense and incalculable advancement. We have seen an end of the days of excessive expenditure, by houses whose insolvency was notorious. But there is still need for peculiar caution, for the fact is noto-

* *Calcutta Review*, No. xvi, Commercial Morality.

rious, (however it may be accounted for), that very few merchants have retired from Calcutta with any considerable fortunes during the last twenty years.

It is obvious, that in the course of years, the natives of Calcutta, with rapidly increasing wealth and intelligence, will take a more direct and important part in the trade of the country. There are certainly difficulties in their way, but gradually they may be overcome. At present, it is evident that confidence is and must be limited. Public opinion in native society does not punish fraud ; the capital of the native trader can always be placed out of sight, when convenient, by pretended sales and transfers, which it is extremely difficult for an European to trace and to detect. And then, too, the almost universal disregard of truth by the natives, and the entire inability of the European to judge with certainty of the actual character and capital of the natives, (from whose social habits and connections, he is so completely estranged,) are causes which introduce into all commercial dealings with them, a painful and continual consciousness of insecurity. But these difficulties may diminish, as experience and civilization prevail ; and we hope that higher influences may elevate the native character, and introduce therefore a new element into the trade of India. We may then confidently expect, not only a powerful and wholesome competition with the European merchant, but also an important addition to the developement of the resources of the country.

It is also probable, that the natives of the Inner Provinces of Bengal will gradually become more largely embarked in commerce. There is no doubt, that Brahminism is breaking down ; education is slowly but surely spreading ; the means of inter-communication will increase ; new outlets for remote districts will be opened ; and the Bengali is by nature an accountant and trader. His soil possesses exuberant fertility ; there is an immense extent still untouched by the plough, and untrodden by the foot of man ; and there is a population available for every new sphere of labour and profit. It is found already, that the labourers of Eastern Bengal are flocking down to the "Rice Diggings" in Arracan, and returning to enrich their families. A new and most interesting opening of another kind will soon be afforded on the Mutlah. It may be admitted that the dangers of the Hooghly are exaggerated, and that very few vessels under steam have ever been injured there in passing up and down ; but the moorings and the stream of Calcutta are hazardous in the freshes, and they will not suffice, if the 1,134 Square Rigged vessels of 1855-56 are increased to 2,000. The city is in fact confined ; the canal approach to it is insufficient ; and when the railway is opened from the North West, and begins to bring down in increased quantities the products of the interior, there will not be room enough on

the shores on either side of the river for the growing traffic. The proposed new port on the Mutlah, (a branch of the sea running up to an excellent anchorage at about twenty-six miles from Calcutta), is therefore a necessity, and the Railroad to it no less. If that scheme, (already far advanced, and already sufficiently tested by the experiment of Borradaile and Co.,) be carried out with vigour, there will be a new city with its docks, its wharves, and its shipping; a new centre of influence and enterprise; the cultivation of the Sunderbunds with its seven thousand square miles of invaluable soil, now covered with jungle, will produce rice, cotton, and all other native products, in close proximity to the new demand; there will be easy access to the Eastern districts; and an impulse will be given to the commerce of Bengal, exceeding every thing since the Charter Act of 1813, whereby the monopoly of India's trade was abolished.

Another immediate prospect is the developement of the North Western Provinces. Nothing more remarkable than the steady progress of those Provinces, has occurred in recent years in India. The fruits of Mr. Thomason's long period of wise, and systematic, and vigorous Government; the zeal, and energy, and ability of some of the officers of Government there; the animating influence of Mr. Colvin, the present Governor, and his hearty encouragement of all that tends to rouse the people, to improve their condition, and to add force and effectiveness to the administration of public affairs, and the hope of a very early opening of the Railway from Allahabad to Delhi, (long anterior to its completion from Calcutta to Benares)—all tend to the conviction, that very soon the North Western Provinces will become the most active seats of commerce in the empire. The proposition that has been made for a Railway from Cawnpore to Lucknow, and thence through Rohilkund to Bareilly, and other adjacent stations, should, we conceive, meet the unhesitating support of the Court of Directors. The Railway from Mirzapore to Jubbulpore and thence to Bombay, is sanctioned, and will become of immense importance. That from Bombay to Agra, is in progress. It is intended to continue the Delhi line to Peshawar. The occupation of Oude renders the navigation of the Gogra, one of the most interesting and promising openings in the country. The iron discovered in Kumaon, from its great value, indicates the necessity of roads to communicate with the Rohilkund Railway. The cultivation of Tea in the North West, and of Tea and Flax in the Punjab, the mineral resources of the Nerbudda valley, the access by the Railway and though cross roads to Saugor, Bundelkund, Nagpore, and parts of the Nizam's dominions, will afford to the people of our Upper Provinces the assurance of a vast increase of resources. We believe too, that

the prospect to which we have before adverted—the influence of all this stir and progress on the surrounding tribes of Asia, in a few years of peace, will be powerfully felt, and that the result will be the discovery of other resources, of which, at present, we can form no conception, and the civilization of races of men who are among the noblest of mankind.

The case of Bengal in its further details requires very special consideration. It is our belief that, with wonderful advantages, it has also remarkable disadvantages, and that it urgently requires careful and special enquiry. To this subject we must ask the attention of our readers; and we shall endeavour to state the case as simply as possible.

In the enquiry into Indian affairs by the House of Commons in 1853, the condition of the people was scarcely examined at all. But one witness of great weight and authority was examined on the point, and his evidence was of so much importance that we are compelled to quote it at length. That witness was Mr. R. D. Mangles, M. P., an East India Director, who is now Chairman of the E. I. Company, and who, while in India, held some of the highest offices under Government. His evidence was as follows:—

R. D. Mangles, Esq. examined—question put by the chairman, Mr. T. Baring:—

"It has been stated that the ryots are very poor; do you consider that their poverty and degradation should be ascribed to the land revenue system? In the first place, I think there is very great exaggeration with regard to the poverty of the ryots. I think it has been overstated to a very great extent. In Bengal, indeed, the Government is in no wise responsible for the condition of ryots, except in so far as, through the very unwise, though in intention benevolent measures of Lord Cornwallis, they have been handed over almost entirely to the Zemindars; but still, in Bengal, where the ryots are worse off, I believe, than any part of India, their condition is very much better, taken with reference to the nature of the climate, and the wants of the ryot, than is generally supposed. I believe the cultivators in the North Western Provinces are in a more comfortable condition than the peasantry of this, or perhaps of any other country, except America and Australia, and new countries of that description. I believe from what I can gather, that in Madras and Bombay their condition is very much better than has commonly been stated; but be their condition good or bad, I conceive the system of land revenue has nothing whatever to do with it, because, I believe, that where land is from social circumstances in a condition to yield rent, rent will be paid to some party or other, whether the Government take any share of it or not. The ryots would have to pay rent to somebody, if the Government took no share of that rent; and I do not believe that the payment of rent, if the demand of the Go-

vernment is confined to a share of the rent, as it certainly is in every part of India, as far as I know, can have any thing to do with the condition of the people. I believe the poverty of the agricultural population of India is much more attributable to social causes, to the great subdivision of property, and to the great number of people employed in raising the amount of produce, so that the produce is almost consumed by the people who raise it. I believe the great cause or instrument of agricultural wealth is to raise a large quantity of produce with the smallest possible number of hands. In India the state of things is precisely the reverse, and I believe that that, more than any other cause, has led to the comparative poverty of the ryots of India. In fact, the ryot of India is as nearly as possible in the position of the cottier of Ireland, and it is very remarkable that you might take a whole page from a work describing India, and take a whole page describing Ireland, and apply them by a mere mutation of names from one country to the other. * * * * *

" Does not it follow from this, that the poverty, however great it may be, is quite consistent with the contentment of the people?—Ycs."

Question by the Hon'ble J. E. Elliot :*—

" You said that the ryots under the perpetual settlement had to shift for themselves : are they in a worse position than the lower class of those who have small holdings in this country? I doubt if they are; I said, I thought they were not so, taking into comparison the climate, and the nature of their wants, and all circumstances being considered."

Mr. Elliot.—" As far as the laws under which they live are concerned, have they not the same means of protecting themselves, as a tenant in this country has, who is oppressed by his landlord? Certainly, the laws take as good care of them as laws can, I think."

" If they do suffer from extortion in any way, it is because they will not take those precautions which are provided for them, or else being of a more helpless nature than Englishmen are, they do not make the same resistance?—Yes.

" But as far as the law is concerned, they have the power, if they choose, to exert themselves to obtain redress? Certainly."

Question put by Hon'ble C. S. Hardinge.†

Mr. Hardinge.—" Can you compare the condition of the ryot in India with the condition of any European cultivators of land or laborers? I think so; the condition of ryots, under the worst circumstances, is marvellously like that of cottiers in Ireland. There is an article in the *Edinburgh Review* on Railways in Ireland, from which you might transfer whole pages to the condition of the ryot in India. The other day, I met Sir Thomas Redington, and without my expressing any opinion on the subject, he told me that he had been struck

* A retired Bengal Civilian.

+ Private Secretary to Lord Hardinge, when Governor General.

with the similarity of what he had read of the condition of the ryot in India to the condition of the peasant in Ireland."

" Is not misery in Ireland somewhat different from the supposed misery in India, in as much as in Ireland a man is considered very poor, if he has not clothes to cover him, but in India a man is comparatively well off with hardly any ? I said, considering the difference of the climate and their wants, I think that, under the worst circumstances, they are quite as well off. The circumstances which cause famine in India and in Ireland are precisely the same : each man depends upon the cultivation of his own little patch of land, and if that fails in any year, he has nothing to fall back on ; when he has sold his cattle, and the gold ornaments of his wives and children, he must starve."

" Is not it the case, that the ryots want little, consume little, and wear little or no clothing ? Yes ; and I believe, circumstances considered, they are as well off as the population of the same class in any country in Europe.

Mr. Elliot.—" Is not it the case, that the houses of all the cultivators in the villages in Bengal are infinitely better than the common hovels and huts you see in many parts of England, and certainly, in Ireland and the North of Scotland ? They are vastly better than they are in Ireland, and, considering the climate and the wants of the people, as good as in England. A Bengalee village is surrounded with Plantain Gardens, and with Cocoanut Gardens, and Gardens for the cultivation of vegetables. I believe, having regard to their wants, they live in comfort and ease "

" Are not the huts themselves better ? They are much better, without even allowing for the difference of climate. I have seen absolutely worse huts in Ireland than I have ever seen in India."

Mr. Hardinge.—" Is there not a great degree of neatness in Bengalee villages, as regards keeping up those huts ; are they not swept clean, and made to present a comfortable appearance ?—Very much so."

" They have always tanks to bathe in, have not they ?—Yes."

Now in the petition of the Missionaries of Calcutta, which was printed and laid before that Committee, there was the following rather opposite statement :—

" That your Petitioners have reason to believe that there is a vast amount of social disorganization, and of consequent suffering, in the whole country. Much of this your Petitioners can trace to the fearful superstitions of the people ; to their ignorance ; and to the debasing effects of a popular mythology, which presents, as objects of worship, deities who are examples of every vice, and which ascribes sanctity and divine honour to a priesthood which is the principal curse of India. But speaking particularly of this great Presidency of Bengal, your Petitioners would represent to your Honorable House the existence of evils, which it falls properly within the scope of Government to meet and to control. The evils resulting from

the religions of the country, your Petitioners believe have been greatly diminished since the commencement of Christian Missions ; and they willingly accord to the Government of India the praise of having abolished Satis, and checked Infanticide, Thuggism and the once prevalent practice of self-immolation. Your Petitioners do not now hear of the terrible occurrences, with which their predecessors were familiar—of women drowning themselves publicly at the junction of the Ganges and the Jumna ; of others sitting in pits to be smothered by heavy baskets of sand ; and of devotees yielding themselves to death in the presence of multitudes, by means which require the active participation of heartless accessories. A more just apprehension of their duty by the Judicial Officers of Government has restrained such suicides, by dealing with the accessories, as guilty of murder ; and the enactment of several wise and salutary laws has restrained the other classes of crimes which your Petitioners have mentioned. Your Petitioners believe, however, that these results must, in a large measure, be ascribed to the growing influence of Christian Missions, which have been blessed, no less in raising the standard of piety and justice among the Europeans in India, than in the enlightenment of the consciences of the natives. But there are other evils with which the Government, as such, has to contend, and which your Petitioners regret to declare, appear to be on the increase. Your Petitioners greatly fear that it will be found, on enquiry, that in many districts of Bengal, neither life nor property is secure ; that gang-robberies of the most daring character are perpetrated annually in great numbers, with impunity ; and that there are constant scenes of violence, in contentions respecting disputed boundaries between the owners of landed estates.

" That your Petitioners submit to your Honorable House that the radical cause of these evils is the inefficiency of the Police and the Judicial system. Your Petitioners find that the sole protection of the public peace, in many places, is a body of Policemen (called Village Chowkedars,) who are in fact the ministers of the most powerful of their neighbours, rather than the protectors of the people. The body of peace-officers appointed and paid directly by the State will, on enquiry, be found to be entirely insufficient for the great districts for which they are provided ; but few as they are, they, also, will be found to be oppressors of the people. The records of the criminal courts, and the experience of every resident in the districts of Bengal, will bear testimony to the facts that no confidence can be placed in the Police force (either the regular force or the Village Chowkedars) ; that it is their practice to extort confessions by torture ; and that, while they are powerless to resist the gangs of organized burglars or dacoits, they are corrupt enough to connive at their atrocities.

" That your Petitioners believe that a strict and searching enquiry into the state of the rural population of Bengal would lead your Honorable House to the conclusion, that they commonly live in a state of poverty and wretchedness, produced chiefly by the present system of landed tenures and the extortion of Zemindars, aggra-

vated by the inefficiency and the cruelties of the peace-officers, who are paid by the Chowkedarry tax or by the Government.

" That your Petitioners believe that a well-organized Police, with a more extensive and more effective Judicial system, would do much to check the outrages that arise from disputes about land. But your Petitioners must also ascribe much of the evil which these outrages produce, to the causes by which primarily such disputes are occasioned. Your Petitioners must declare that, from the want of a complete survey of the estates of the country ; of a Registration Act to settle titles ; and of laws to obviate the infinite mischief of the universal system of Secret Trusts, there is so much uncertainty about the landed tenures and boundaries in Bengal, that capitalists generally dread to purchase such property, and those who do, too frequently keep bodies of club-men, to take and keep by force the extent of land to which they deem themselves entitled. Between contending proprietors ; amidst scenes of constant conflict ; and a prey to the corruption and the oppression of the Police ; the tenant is reduced, not merely to beggary, but also in many cases, to a state of the most abject and pitiable servitude."

Subsequently, in the course of September 1856, the Missionaries memorialized the Hon'ble F. J. Halliday, the Lieut. Governor of Bengal, on the subject of a Commission to enquire into the condition of the people of Bengal. We give their words. After quoting the foregoing extract from their petition of 1852, they say :—

" That a separate Petition, signed by 1,800 Christian inhabitants of Bengal, was presented to Parliament in 1853, in which they stated that " the Police of the Lower Provinces totally fails as respects the prevention of crimes, apprehension of offenders, and protection of life and property ; but it is become an engine of oppression and a great cause of the corruption of the people ;" " that torture is believed to be extensively practised on persons under accusation :" and that " all the evil passions are brought into play, and ingenuities of all kinds, both by people and Police, are resorted to ;" and this Petition also bore strong and emphatic testimony to the wretched condition of the people, and the unsatisfactory state of the Judicial system.

" That your Memorialists noticed with extreme regret that the Parliamentary inquiry into Indian affairs was brought to a close, before this subject of the social condition of the people was opened.

" That, since that period, many circumstances, and particularly many recent publications, have deepened the conviction of your Memorialists, that the social condition of the people of Bengal is deplorable in the extreme, and that the representations in their Petition fell short of the truth.

" That your Memorialists have perused with the deepest interest a Minute by your Honor, on the Police and Criminal Justice in Bengal, in which the existing system is most faithfully and powerfully described. Your Memorialists have noticed particularly the

following statements :—that “for a long series of years, complaints have been handed down from administration to administration, regarding the badness of the Mofussil Police, under the Government of Bengal, and as yet very little has been done to improve it ;”—that “throughout the length and breadth of the country, the strong prey almost universally upon the weak, and power is but too commonly valued, only as it can be turned into money :”—that “it is a lamentable but unquestionable fact that the rural Police, its position, character and stability, as a public institution, have, in the Lower Provinces, deteriorated during the last twenty years ;”—that “the Criminal Judicatures certainly do not command the confidence of the people ;”—that “whether right or wrong, the general native opinion is certainly that the administration of criminal justice is little better than a lottery ; in which, however, the best chances are with the criminal ; and this is also very much the opinion of the European Mofussil community ;”—that “a very small proportion of heinous offenders are ever brought to trial ;”—that “it now appears that half of those brought to trial are sure to be acquitted ;”—and that “peculiar and accidental circumstances, partly temporary and partly arising out of the constitution of the Civil Service, have, at this moment, made the inexperienced condition of the Magistracy more observable than it has ever been before, while it seems certain that the evil during several successive years is likely very seriously to increase ;” and, your Memorialists attach great weight to these remarkable and important declarations.”

The prayer of the Memorial was not granted, and thereupon a Petition embodying that Memorial was presented to the House of Commons by Mr. Kinnaird. In that Petition the Missionaries said :—

“That your Petitioners did not present this Memorial from any doubt of His Honor’s personal familiarity with the social or political state of Bengal ; but your Petitioners were aware that the whole extent of the evils which press upon the people of Bengal was not generally understood, and they hoped that an enquiry conducted by able and conscientious men, would (by authoritatively eliciting, and placing on record the real facts of the case) greatly assist the Government in its deliberations, enlighten public opinion, check by its mere publicity the growth of some existing evils, and in many other ways contribute to the welfare of the country.

“That your Petitioners believed that the prayer of their Memorial was so reasonable and moderate, and the necessity for a benevolent and careful investigation into the statements of your Petitioners was so evident, that the Commission for which they applied would be readily granted.

“That your Petitioners would remind your Honorable House that the social condition of the people of this country has rarely, if at all, been made the subject of Parliamentary enquiry ; and that nearly the whole of the evidence received by your Honorable House, concerning

the existing fiscal and Judicial arrangements of India, has been given by persons who have been officially connected with their administration, or identified with that form of government, by which the systems in use were established and have been upheld.

"That your Petitioners would further represent to your Honorable House, that from the peculiar secrecy which till recently marked the proceedings of the local Governments, and the Supreme Government of India, their records have very rarely afforded knowledge to any but the officers immediately connected with the separate departments of the State; there has been no opportunity for public discussion; and very little information of an authentic and authoritative character has been conveyed through the channel of the public press; while the formation of public opinion, either on the acts of Government, or on the events happening in the wide regions under the sway of the Government of Bengal, has been precluded or rendered impracticable by the almost entire absence of the means of inter-communication, which, your Petitioners regret to say, still characterizes, after a hundred years of occupation, the Bengal Presidency.

"That your Petitioners must further represent to your Honorable House, that from the exclusive character of the Government Service, the views of its public officers have been naturally and necessarily liable to a peculiar bias, and that the public records, if published, would rarely afford that full comprehensive survey of subjects affecting the civil and social interests of the people which the minds of men more favorably circumstanced would supply.

"That your Petitioners therefore believe that, in this country, there is special need for an impartial enquiry of a public nature, and your Petitioners submit that their Memorial exhibits sufficient and most urgent grounds, on which, with special propriety, their request for such an enquiry might have been granted at the present time."

And they presented the following considerations which appeared to have been overlooked in the refusal of the Enquiry :—

First.—"The condition of Bengal is peculiarly distressing from the long and lamentable neglect which has been so remarkable in its history. Your Petitioners admit that, joined as the Governorship of Bengal was with the Governor Generalship of India up to the year 1854, or held for short periods with limited authority by the Member of Council, who happened to be Senior, when the Governor General was absent, it was unreasonable to expect any uniform or satisfactory and efficient course of administration. It was because this peculiarity in the position of Bengal was well known and severely felt, that the Marquis of Dalhousie (as your Petitioners believe) recommended that provision should be made for a separate Governor for Bengal; that several witnesses before the Committee of your Honorable House declared the necessity of that measure; and that Petitions were presented to your Honorable House (from your present Petitioners among others,) praying for that act of obvious justice and utility. The East India Company's Act of 1853

provided for that long-desired arrangement, and your Petitioners thankfully acknowledge the wisdom of Parliament in the enactment. But your Petitioners represent to your Honorable House, that this wise measure cannot at once remove the effect of past neglect; and that far from being a reason why enquiry into the condition of the people should not be granted, it should rather be a reason why enquiry should be granted and prosecuted, with a view to vigorous measures under all the advantages of this new system of Government.

Secondly.—“The expediency of supplying the Legislative Council of India with that information which is needful to guide its various members who have not long been resident in Bengal. That Council has not the power, like your Honorable House, of appointing Committees of Enquiry, and taking oral evidence prior to legislation; and in the absence of this, if no Commission of Enquiry for Bengal is appointed, your Petitioners fear that its members, with one or two exceptions, will be unable to decide with confidence or satisfaction, on the measures proposed or suggested.

Thirdly.—“The importance of supplying full and detailed information for the use of your Honorable House, now that matters connected with India are attracting more attention and interest in England, and your Honorable House is called, from session to session, to entertain questions which deeply concern the welfare of millions of Her Majesty’s subjects in this Presidency. The information on which the Lieut. Governor of Bengal and some other members of the Government are prepared to act, may be full and satisfactory to themselves; but your Honorable House has too deep a concern in the affairs of the country, to rest satisfied without sharing the information, which, if confined to individuals, must perish at their decease, or become unavailable on their surrendering the offices they occupy.

Fourthly.—“The desirableness of eliciting the testimony of classes of people in India, who hitherto have rarely, if ever, been allowed an opportunity of giving evidence respecting the operations of the Government, and the adaptation of the existing Regulations to the state of the people. Such classes are the independent Europeans, and the unofficial Natives.

Fifthly.—“The desirableness of explaining why measures of improvement, the necessity and justice of which appears to be admitted now by the Government of India, have been delayed so long.

Sixthly.—“The example afforded by the Government of Great Britain, in reference to other possessions of the Crown. Your Petitioners would remind your Honorable House of two Royal Commissions of Enquiry to Canada, of one to Ceylon, and of one to Borneo very recently; and your Petitioners would also call to mind the Commission over which the Earl of Devon presided in Ireland, which was issued during Sir Robert Peel’s administration, and which was not considered supererogatory or needless, although many of the subjects embraced in its enquiries had previously been subjects of investigation by your Honorable House.”

But this is not all. Mr. J. P. Grant introduced a measure to

amend the present Sale Law into the Legislative Council, in December 1855. As it was opposed, and as the Missionaries believed it to be an important boon to the oppressed cultivators, they thus recently addressed the Council in a petition on the subject. Others were speaking for their own interests—Zemindars and Indigo Planters—and the Government of Bengal, and such of the Revenue Officers as took the trouble to notice the matter at all, were stating the obstacles to the practical operation of the bill. But as friends of the poor, the Missionaries had to show how their circumstances demanded this relief. And they thus stated their views :—

“ That your Petitioners beg leave to submit to your Honorable Council, their views on the evils which that Bill is designed to meet ; and generally, on the position of the cultivating classes in this Presidency ; and they respectfully but earnestly solicit the favourable consideration of your Honorable Council, to their representation of the claims of those classes of the community, who are unable effectually to plead for themselves.

“ That your Petitioners recognize in the Perpetual Settlement an important boon to the whole Presidency, in its limitation of the Land Tax, and they regard that settlement as the probable foundation of great national prosperity. But in the practical operation of the system, your Petitioners observe two distinct classes of evils.

First.—“ The under-tenures are insecure ; the rents of the cultivating classes are capriciously varied ; and the interests of those classes are virtually unprotected.

Secondly.—“ The Zemindars are armed with extraordinary and excessive powers.

“ That your Petitioners believe it to be notorious, that the intentions of the Laws for securing leases to the tenants ; for securing them receipts on their payments of rent ; for limiting within just bounds the rents reserved in leases ; and for checking the custom of exacting abwabs, and other arbitrary additional charges and cesses, are commonly frustrated and defeated. On the other hand, the power of the Zemindars, (as recognized in Reg. VII. of 1799, Sec. 15, Cl. 8), to compel the personal attendance of their tenants, for the adjustment of rent and other purposes, is, practically, in many parts of the country, a substitute for the regular and ordinary processes of the Law, and is virtually the subjection of the tenants to a state of slavery. And, further, this evil is in many instances greatly aggravated, by the estates being held in cotenancy, so that several shareholders, who are often in a state of conflict, equally exercise an arbitrary and unrestrained authority.

“ That while this Law thus presses severely on the tenants, your Petitioners observe, that from the increased cultivation of the soil, and the greatly increased value of its produce, the Zemindars, who were primarily regarded simply as Collectors of the Land Tax, or Farmers of the Revenue, entitled to a fair profit on the returns,

derive now a revenue greatly in excess of the revenue which they pay to Government. And thus, contemporaneously, while the Zemindar has been rising in wealth and power, the tenant has been sinking into penury and dependence, subject to illegal and exhausting exactations, harassed by contending proprietors, and oppressed by the exercise of extra-judicial powers.

"That your Petitioners submit, that this result was neither designed nor contemplated by the Perpetual Settlement. By that arrangement certain great advantages were secured. A moderate assessment was levied on the land, in substitution for uncertain and unlimited demands; and an important class in the community, who were regarded as foremost in intelligence and influence, were placed in a position of responsibility, usefulness, and honor. But these Zemindars have, since that time, not only acquired by Law the power of enforcing their demands by *ex parte* proceedings, commencing with the arrest and imprisonment of the tenants, but have also received the sanction of the Law, as already stated, to their custom of enforcing the personal attendance of their tenants at their pleasure; and both these powers, but especially the latter, your Petitioners believe they often greatly and shamefully abuse.

"That in the practical and extended development of this system, it is manifest that the tenants suffer from a lax administration of Laws passed for their protection; that they are oppressed by the execution of other laws, which arm the Zemindars with excessive power; that they do not share with the Zemindars in the advantages derived from the development of the resources of the country; that the profits thus monopolized by the Zemindars, are already incalculably valuable: and that year after year, the condition of the tenants appears more and more pitiable and hopeless.

"That your Petitioners are compelled to add, that other evils increase the wretchedness of the condition to which a tenant is thus reduced. The Village Chowkedars are the servants of his Landlord; the Government Police are corrupt, and he cannot vie with his Landlord in purchasing their favor; the Courts of Justice are dilatory and expensive, and are often far distant from his abode, so that he has no hope of redress for the most cruel wrongs; and he is frequently implicated in affrays, respecting disputed boundaries, in which he has not the slightest personal interest. Ignorant of his rights, uneducated, subdued by oppression, accustomed to penury, and sometimes reduced to destitution, the cultivator of the soil, in many parts of this Presidency, derives little benefit from the British rule, beyond protection from Mahratta invasions.

"That your Petitioners believe that under these circumstances, the interference of your Honorable Council is urgently demanded by justice and benevolence; and they view the present Sale Bill as an important step in the right direction.

"That the objections of the Zemindars to the measure, appear to your Petitioners entirely futile. It appears to your Petitioners unquestionable, that your Honorable Council may justly protect the tenant, provided only it leave the Zemindar ample means of paying.

he Government Revenue, and a fair profit on his collections. The elevation of this Zemindary class, by extraordinary protective and fostering measures, is not a policy that can be wisely or equitably pursued, to the sacrifice of the great mass of the people."

The minutes of Mr. Halliday and of Lord Canning, and of the other Members of Council, while they treated the Memorial for Enquiry with respect, denied that there was disaffection, and rested mainly on the ground, that the condition of the cultivators was already well and sufficiently known. With this there were mingled other objections, such as the length of time the Enquiry would take, the expectations it would excite, the delay of good measures it would occasion, and the course of administration and of legislative reform, which had already been commenced by the Government. Admissions of considerable importance certainly were made, but the case as represented by the Missionaries was substantially denied, and the Court of Directors have since emphatically approved of the refusal of the Enquiry, and vindicated their course of administration. Now, what is the *truth* of this case? The point at issue, it will be observed, is narrowed simply to this: *is* the condition of the people already so well known, that a Commission of Enquiry can do no good, and may do much harm? That is the question. We submit that it evidently is *not* known to Mr. Mangles, who probably speaks the sentiments of the Court of Directors; and if we may assume that the Committee of the House of Commons adopted the sentiment of so able and so well informed a witness, we must conclude that it is equally unknown to them. The case of the cultivators of Bengal, as represented by Mr. Mangles, is identical with that of the cottier of Ireland, in 1852. But how stands the fact? Ireland had unhappily suffered for centuries from political and religious differences, and civil war. In recent years, when all national jealousies and bitterness might have been appeased, both were roused and inflamed by new political agitation. There was no social peace; there was a restraint on the industry of the people; there was a system of landed tenures which originated in the follies of the proprietors of the soil, who were, commonly, heavily encumbered, and in the excessive competition for land among a redundant population, who took it from exacting middlemen. But there was an admirable Police force; there was a perfectly just and vigorous administration of Civil and Criminal justice; a system of national education was beginning to produce its effects on the people; new laws had commenced to operate for the sale of encumbered estates; and a very considerable proportion of the population had perished in a year of famine; another large portion was emigrating to the United States; and it was notorious that a new era of peaceful labour, and of intelligent agricultural

enterprise, was dawning on the country. Very much had in fact already occurred, to ameliorate the social condition of the Irish people.

In Bengal the Police force was an acknowledged atrocity. The administration of Civil justice was slow, and expensive, and virtually was prohibited to the poor. Criminal justice was a lottery. The testimony of the Missionaries was, we confidently assert, true to the letter, as to the insecurity of life and property, the contentions about disputed boundaries, and the impediments to investments in land. Mr. Mangles saw only the mat and bamboo-hut, and plantain groves, and all those resources which a most luxuriant land enables almost the poorest beggar to enjoy; and he might as well have noticed at the same time the diseases incidental to the climate, and the liability of large parts of the country to inundations, the ravages of wild animals to the crops, and the want of roads to take the ryot's produce to market. The Missionaries saw the cultivator behind these plantain groves reduced to practical slavery; under grievously offensive rent laws; almost entirely uneducated; a prey to petty tyrants; with no Courts of justice near him; liable to be seized and imprisoned, and to have his crops seized, on false ex parte statements, by his landlord, without the slightest hope of redress; liable to extortionate and arbitrary exactions of increased rent; with scarcely clothes to cover him in the cold season; unable to get leases for land which his ancestor held, it might be, long before his landlord obtained that peculiar interest in the soil, which Lord Cornwallis gave him in 1793; and lastly, liable to be expelled and ousted, not for his own default, but after his own rent had been paid, for the default of his landlord in paying his rent to government.

We need say no more. Both these pictures cannot be correct representations. And yet it is a matter affecting millions of people. It is a matter too important to be settled by the concurrence of Mr. Mangles, who has always viewed things as a Member of Government, and Sir Thomas Redington, who knew nothing, but what he had heard from such persons. But more than this; it is not a matter to be settled by an Enquiry by a Committee of the House of Commons, if that Enquiry be similar to the Enquiry of 1852-53. We are willing to give credit to the witnesses who spoke there for sincerity, and for a desire to tell all they knew. But it is not possible that men who have been trained up in the lap of the East India Company, who have thriven into wealth through that powerful corporation, who owe to it all they possess of wealth and influence, and who look to it, and to a continuance of its present system, for the advancement of their families and friends, to

speak dispassionately, or to weigh the interests of the people with those of that Company. It is not possible ; and consequently, it is so plain that no one who has studied the evidence taken can doubt it, that, in fact, the condition of the people was almost entirely ignored, or was erroneously represented. The witnesses, with few exceptions, were men identified with the system of Government, which was then under trial, and gave precisely the evidence that might have been expected. We are speaking of the case of Bengal. Renew that Enquiry now, conduct it in the same way, and the result will be the same. There is but one mode of reaching the truth, and that is by a Royal Commission to Bengal, to enquire into the condition of the people. That measure is demanded by justice and benevolence, and we cannot believe that it will be refused much longer. The objections to it, we believe, are merely specious and unsubstantial ; exactly such as may be suggested, and are suggested, to every new and important measure, by timorous, by interested, by idle, or by narrow-minded men—and honestly by some few others, who with the most anxious desire to do that which is right, act under a mis-conception of the circumstances. Such men we *know* have opposed the Commission reluctantly ;—for the opposition of others we were prepared.

It is not, however, simply the condition of the people which requires investigation in Bengal. It was right and becoming in the Missionaries, when they applied for a Commission of Enquiry, to confine themselves to the condition of the people, and those topics which bore directly upon it. But there is a larger scope for enquiry. We believe that the development of the resources of this country is a matter of imperial concern, and that the progress of the present line of Railway, the addition of others, the extension of inland steam navigation, the increase of roads, and the port at the Mutlah, are equally matters requiring investigation. The question too, as to the present exclusive system of Government, under which civilians are shifted about from fiscal to judicial offices, as if equally qualified for both, or are transferred to other offices essentially different from either ; the question as to the causes of past neglect ; the question as to salaries, which, under the existing system, is referred to the investigation of a single member of a privileged class, whose allowances form the chief subject of consideration, and always have been zealously guarded—these matters, and we may add the propriety and expediency of continuing to maintain the Madrissa as a college for disaffected Mahomedans, and in a wider range, all the measures which tend to stimulate commerce, to excite confidence in the Government, to elevate the people, to attract European settlers and capital to the country, should be embraced in one general

Enquiry ; and for such an Enquiry, it is clear that the most able men the country's service can supply, should be willingly provided, by the united counsels of the Imperial and the Indian Governments. We do not believe that it would be difficult to frame a Commission. There are officers of Government without official prejudices ; there are men at home, who have not been in India, but who have enlarged minds, and have gained extensive knowledge of other lands ; we might have new views from the ablest men of the North West, men like Mr. Tucker of Benares, or Mr. Donald McLeod ; a Commission of men from home, like Mr. Mackay who came out to investigate the cotton districts for the Manchester Chamber of Commerce ; men like Sir John McNeil who has extensive eastern experience, and whose sagacity and firmness were eminently displayed in the Crimean Commission ; and men like Sir Charles Trevelyan who have been in India, and who have since gained additional experience of official life in important stations. It seems, indeed, an easy thing to nominate a Commission capable of doing justice to the subject, and worthy of the confidence of the country.

But we feel that it would be unjust to confine the Enquiry to Bengal.—Bengal has special claims, and special need ; the case of Madras, we have reason to fear, is not more satisfactory ; but we earnestly desire to see the case of all India taken up in a bold and noble spirit, and a Commission worthy of England sent to every Presidency. Can it be said of any Presidency, that all is already known ? In the case of Torture in Madras, the Court of Directors, and other high authorities, declared that they had never heard of it, although it was notorious at Madras, and was described in detail in the evidence given before the House of Commons, before the renewal of the Charter in 1833, and it then appeared, that a formal complaint of it had been presented to the local Government ! We require such an investigation, that *all* may be known, and known with certainty, both here and at home, and that nothing which is known may henceforth be authoritatively denied. Then as to Revenue. In 1786, the gross revenue of India was £4,210,000. We apprehend that in the past year, it was nearly thirty millions. Would this be a heavy revenue for such a country, and for such a population, if the national resources were fully developed ? If we take now ten millions worth of British manufactures, may we not hope in twenty years to take fifty millions, and to export a hundred millions of produce from our shores ? Certainly, that is no doubtful prospect. Why, then, should there be any hesitation in public works, which will tend to this development ? Why are we, in India, with insufficient capital, to keep fifty millions locked up in the public loans ? Why not empower the East India Company, with the English

Government's guarantee, to raise its loans at home? Why not amalgamate the whole imperial liabilities, by adding the Indian debt to the British debt, at three per cent., if the whole of our Indian loans can be transferred to home by raising the amount there, as easily as we added thirty millions to the British funded and unfunded debt in the Russian war? There will be abundant scope and margin in the surplus of our Exports and Imports, to pay all the interest at home, to pay the interest on all the guaranteed millions invested in our Railways,—abundant, even if England spend on India, as much as she has lavished on her own Railroads with such far inferior prospects of returns. These are things to be enquired into, considered, and decided, not in the light of private interest, not in conjunction with a pre-conceived determination to uphold the double government, the civil service, and the old system of routine, monopoly, and exclusiveness, but on such full data, as a Commission of Enquiry would afford, and with a whole-hearted, resolute, and generous desire to fulfil the high destiny of Great Britain, and to lay broad, and wide, and deep, the foundation of India's prosperity. We need this, not merely to liberate the people from the sufferings of centuries; not merely to extend the boundaries of our general commerce; but also to assist in overturning the ancient superstitions, which in the minds of this people, are inviolably bound up with the continuance of existing social evils, of popular ignorance, and of the separation from other races of men.

But men's views of this subject will naturally be influenced altogether by their views of the general policy, which it is the interest, and duty of Great Britain to pursue in India. If we think that India is always to be regarded as a conquest, to be treated as such, and held by the stern law of force, then we must go the whole length with Lord Ellenborough, and object to every measure calculated to enlighten the people. Our dominion must be a military despotism, tempered, it may be, by our national generosity, but still a military despotism, to the security of which every thing else must be subordinated; and as experience has proved, a military despotism resting on a large European army. With our great resources, it is quite possible that this policy might succeed for many years. The natives could not so effectually combine as to endanger our position, if our whole strength were directed simply to the consolidation of our power; but the process of self-preservation must then be the process of India's debasement, and our success would be purchased by our shame. But we put aside this fancy altogether. It is certain, that though temporary seasons of panic may give countenance to this theory, other views habitually

animate both the legislature and the people of England, and that all recognize the duty of seeking the good of India by every ameliorating measure, which is calculated to develop her resources, stimulate her trade, enlighten her people, and prepare, as the result, for free and popular institutions. The duty is acknowledged of spreading education, and of admitting the natives of the country gradually, and so far as is consistent with British supremacy, to all the offices of Government, for which they become qualified. This then necessarily involves a social revolution—not a violent displacement of British authority, not a sudden disturbance of all existing distinctions, but a transition period, with an adaptation of new institutions to progressively advancing stages of public sentiment, till, in the end, the distant sway of England may be recognized here rather than felt, by a Colonial Government—not free from her influence, not hostile to her interests, but the fruit of her wise, beneficent, and magnanimous preparation of India's people for self-government. There will of course be dangers and trials in the interval. No policy can exempt us from them. We cannot look around us even now, without observing that every educated man chafes under the sense of social disabilities, and cherishes and spreads around him disaffection. As such men increase and multiply, as they gain from the progress of civilization, and European habits, more manliness, and courage, they will exercise a wider influence; and as popular education spreads, there will be also among the mass of the people a more distinct perception of their position; they will be more open to the influence of a seditious native press; and the sense of their power, when united, may lead to lawless combinations, especially if a few men of strong will, and decisive character, arise to lead the way. And then too, it should not be forgotten, that there is another element in our social state, which *must* work with constantly increasing power. There must be felt, more and more, the disruption produced by the spread of general Christian truth, and by the necessary effects of actual earnest Christianity in individuals;—and then, assuredly, the ancient superstitions, and the old vile priesthood which is the woe of India, will not die without a struggle. We shall hear of fears for Hinduism and Mahomedanism from those who call themselves Christians, if we hear none from the people themselves; the alarm will spread, and all the usual arts will be employed to entrap the Government into insane attempts to check the work of Christian Missions, and to discourage the progress of Christianity. But this, happily, is a matter far above the power of Governments. The conflict with Christianity tested the skill of Roman Rulers, and eventually, in the wild invasions from the

barbarians of the North, Christianity conquered both, preserved the relics of ancient art, literature, and law, turned the rude conquerors into patrons of the faith, and placed on the throne of the Cæsars, a professing head of the Christian Church. If a new struggle arise, there will be a nobler and purer triumph. The universal extension of the Gospel of Christ, as secured by unfailing promises, will be accomplished, and all enemies and obstacles will be swept away. This is the inevitable destiny of India and of the world. Here, then, is our prospect. We must reconcile and adapt ourselves to this. We must rule India, not so as to crush her energies, or check the advance of truth, but so as to fit her to rule herself, in the spirit of wise Christian benevolence, and so as to make our influence depend on the identification of our interests and hers, on the reciprocation of advantages, the responsive action of beneficence and gratitude, and the common tendency of England and India to the same ends, their union in the same enterprises, and their communion in Christian brotherhood. This must be our general policy, whatever temporary measures of precaution may be required at particular seasons of disaffection. If this be our policy, then we need this first step of enlarged Enquiry. It is objected, however, that it will delay measures which are evidently necessary now, by postponing legislation, till new enquiry shall have proved their necessity. It is amusing indeed, to hear this objection from those who have so much difficulty in explaining, why these measures have already been delayed so long! Certainly their necessity is not a new discovery;—for instance, the reform of the administration of justice, the reform of the police, or the reform of oppressive rent laws. The generation which first urged these reforms has well nigh passed away, and has seen nothing done by those who now are seized with such sudden alarm, lest a Commission of Enquiry should check their impatience to exhibit their statesman-like improvements! Perhaps their fears are needless, and all parties who claim enquiry will consent to take their reforms *de bene esse* at once, contemporaneously with enquiry; and consent, that the enquiry shall proceed with the view rather to discover the necessity for other measures, than to confirm the conviction already felt so long, that these reforms are urgently required. It is not much to promise, that neither we nor any others of those who advocate enquiry, will complain if the Report be, that some of the recommendations have been fore stalled; though we may enquire, why, for so many years, recommendations which will so soon occur to the Commissioners, so tardily occurred to the Court of Directors. And as the enquiry we claim need not delay good measures, (but possibly may stimulate and promote them,)—so it need not occupy any considerable

length of time. Here, again, our opponents have no cause for apprehension. If we are not much mistaken, able, practical men, with the records of Government thrown open to them, with access to every kind of personal information, might be expected to effect as much in India in a year, as a Committee of the House of Commons with only partial information, far away from the sphere of enquiry, could do in four months! Such at least is our expectation. It may seem strange, but we fail to see that such enquiries as heretofore have satisfied the Court of Directors, and the public,—enquiries for three or four months by Committees of the Houses of Parliament—have had in them the elements of more energy and complete action than a Commission would have in any presidency in India. Indeed, there appears to us something almost ludicrous in the theory, that such a commission as we have indicated, sent to each Presidency, necessarily must occupy in the labour so much more time than has been usual for such a Committee sitting without a tithe of the advantages; and the suspicion arises almost irresistibly, that the theory is not only unsound, but delusive. We certainly can imagine Commissioners who would protract their proceedings—and possibly such commissioners might be found among those gentlemen who now so earnestly deprecate delay, and who have heretofore so remarkably exhibited their own tendency to that error; but a commission to enquire into the whole case of Bengal, if it were formed of men in India, like Sir John Lawrence, Colonel Cotton, Sir H. Lawrence, Mr. Tucker, Mr. McLeod, or Mr. J. P. Grant, and men at home, like Sir C. E. Trevelyan and Sir Stafford Northcote, would give an account of themselves, we suspect, in about a twelve-month; and in the other Presidencies, the labour would probably be less, and the result more speedy.

We fail then, to see the practical evils of these Commissions. But we do see their necessity very clearly, if the Government of India henceforth is to be that for which we are hoping. We look for, and desire a Government, not by delegation any longer, but by Public Opinion in England controlling the simple system of a Secretary of State for India. We deny positively that this system has failed when applied to the British Colonies. On the contrary, we affirm that its results have been highly honorable and advantageous to the British nation. The British Colonies have in them the foundations of future nations, and are illustrations in our national history of our general equity and justice. It is idle to apply to them one general rule, and to try them all by that. The case of nearly each one has been distinct, and it has been dealt with accordingly. In those which were gradually and slowly peopled by British immigrants,

the mother-country, by constant succour, encouraged enterprise ; and as population increased, and the means of self-government increased, extended political privileges. In others, where we found on conquest, as in Lower Canada, a large foreign population already settled on the faith of definite expectations, and in the enjoyment of special laws, we have secured to them all they before possessed, and have adopted the colony in the largest spirit of benevolence, into the British family. So with Colonies captured from the Dutch—the Cape Colony and Ceylon. In those Colonies, where the population was obtained principally from the barbarous slave trade, our legislature first set the example of protection to the oppressed, and first gave freedom to the enslaved. Our Colonial history is the early history of British Commerce and enterprise ; our Colonies were the trophies, and the nurseries of our navy, and for many years, the great foreign supporters of our domestic manufactures ; they have been the source of wealth and luxury to multitudes, and the homes of multitudes more ; and they are destined to extend the Anglo-Saxon race, language, religion, and freedom, with reproductive power, throughout the world. Errors there have been in our policy,—errors, in some cases, as in the United States, which have been overruled to produce unbounded good ; though in the early history of the United States, there are evidences of remarkable wisdom in our English statesmen. But taken as a whole, we have reason to be thankful for the past, and to look with hope and growing confidence to the future. It is then to this Government by the British Ministry, controlled by the British Legislative, and now, more than ever, governed by Public Opinion, that we would consign the Government of India ; and it is because we espouse this kind of Government, that we desire to see Commissions of Enquiry opened, to enlighten that Public Opinion. It is, we believe, high time for measures of the kind. Year after year, the British Public, if not mystified about Indian affairs, has been left to grope on in the dark ; and thus, all sense of responsibility has failed, and there has been a placid, stupefied contentment with the total inability to judge on the subject. England has boasted of her voyages of discovery ; she has sent expedition after expedition to explore a North-West passage ; she has tried and is trying now again to gain entrance up the Niger and Tshad to the heart of Africa, but her knowledge of India is confined almost entirely to ex parte statements of those who are identified with the delegated authority which it is their interest to perpetuate. The people of India have never been examined ; the type of "Old Indian" has been the settled class of informants in Indian affairs ; and so the strain of adulation has

been prolonged, whenever the East India Company has been mentioned.

We cannot enter at length into the special topics of Enquiry, but we must confine ourselves to those which are connected with the commerce and resources of India. And first of all for Public Works. It is to Mr. Bright (whom Manchester, in imitation of Bristol in the case of Mr. Burke, has lately rejected) that we owe the impulse given to Public Works in India. The writings, and the personal influence of Colonel Arthur Cotton, influenced him, and enabled him to advocate the cause of India with vigour and effect ; but he laboured under great difficulties. The Committee of Enquiry supplied him with inadequate information, and there was no one in the House of Commons able and willing to support him with the weight of personal knowledge. On the contrary, he only heard there of the immense works already accomplished. But he had the alleged fact, that in the Indian Treasury, there were cash balances to the extent of fourteen millions sterling (an allegation in which we, like others, then believed;) he had the means of judging that this was a needless amount, and with that bold and rapid glance by which he usually mastered the most difficult questions, he saw that the limited extent of English Imports into India, and the difficulty of supplying England with Indian cotton, both arose from one cause—the almost total neglect by the British Government in India of the means of intercommunication. The result of his efforts was a despatch from Sir Charles Wood, authorizing the expenditure of seven millions on Public Works. Lord Dalhousie knew well that, in that form, the order could not be obeyed. The process of spending money on Public Works must needs be slow and gradual, and so he resolved to continue his operation of paying off the five per cent. loans (and thus reducing the interest to four per cent., and relieving the public expenditure to the extent of £250,000 a year)—and then to have a distinct Public Works Loan opened at four per cent., for all that might be subsequently required. He calculated on having to pay off much of the five per cents. to those who objected to the reduction of the interest to four per cent.; he believed that the balances were less than fourteen millions ; and that with so large a number of treasuries and in so vast an empire, nothing less than nine millions should be retained. A Public Works Loan was therefore inevitable. But unfortunately, his expectations of success in his operation were disappointed by the rise in the interest of money consequent on the war, and also we apprehend by the real balances falling far short, not only of their reputation, but also of the expectations of the Governor General himself. Public Works were largely undertaken ; the Court of Directors con-

tinued drawing far beyond their actual wants ; and the treasury was on the verge of bankruptcy. The Public Works Loan had to be prematurely opened, and it was necessary to fix the interest at five per cent. This immediately brought down the whole four per cent. stock, which had lately been received at par, to the amount of many millions, to about eighty ; and the Government sustained in its credit the most severe shock it ever encountered. In looking back now, it is easy to see that the whole arrangement was a failure, but it was a failure occasioned solely by the war. But for the war and the rise of interest at home, India would not have suffered by the withdrawal of so much English capital after the conversion of the five per cent., or it would very speedily have been replaced, by contributions to the intended four per cent. Loan for Public Works. But it is vain to look back ; save to notice for future amendment, the system of extravagant, needless, drafts from the East India Company, (which undoubtedly were the immediate cause in 1855, of the difficulty in the treasury in Calcutta;) and that system of accounts, which deluded the highest authorities in England, into the belief that there were available for the public service fourteen millions of cash balances. Why the Court of Directors should always keep in hand three millions and a half or four millions of money, and draw for their supplies in their accustomed capricious uncertain manner, we are quite unable to explain ; and equally does it seem inexplicable, that a system of accounts, which produce such a result as a delusive balance, should be preserved a single year longer.

As the case stands now, Government is pledged to many Public Works, with a gross income inadequate to the gross expenditure, and after having experienced much difficulty in obtaining money in the new public loan at five per cent. This latter difficulty, however, was occasioned by the very ill-judged opening of a four and half per cent loan last year, as a tentative measure. The prospect of the need of money was manifest ; it was certain that the four and half per cent. loan might be a failure ; it was equally certain that a five per cent. loan opened at that period, just after the restoration of the peace, and guaranteed to remain unredeemed for fifteen or twenty years, would be rapidly filled up ; and that loan should therefore have been opened for a sum large enough to cover every prospective want. The course to be taken, now, in existing circumstances, when such tardy confidence has been placed in the five per cent. loan, and when the expenditure in the current year will be greatly above the income, and with the prospect of extraordinary expenses, and of a further deficiency next year, we will not now fully consider. We have already intimated our opinion, that permanent relief might be

had, and should be had, from home ;—but that would be in the form of England guaranteeing or adopting the whole Indian debt, buying up the four per cents., and arranging for all present and future loans being hereafter raised in London at English interest. But the first question is, whether there is not a simple method of relief for the present time—namely, the total cessation of the East India Company's drafts for a twelve month, and their being compelled for the future, to terminate the year with no greater balance than half a million, and to draw for each year's supplies in twenty-four equal parts—one part regularly by each fortnight's mail. Having so large a balance in hand, they need not draw at all for some time, and they should not be permitted to do so. This would afford sufficient needful relief for the present year, and would be an immense advantage in the year to come.

One thing at least will be undisputed—that our Public Works cannot be allowed to stop. The increase of production occasioned by the establishment of peace (as in the Punjab or Oude) is in many places a positive evil to the people. They have large supplies of additional produce, and no vent or outlet for it. The prices fall; meanwhile the Government rent remains the same, and the prices of the cloths, and other goods, which the people have to import, also remain the same; and they suffer from their plethora of production. At the same time other parts of the country, or other and distant lands, remain in want of these very surplus products. Our rivers touch only some parts of the country, and some of them are not navigable. The railroads will become of immense value, but their commencement, as we have stated, was not earlier than 1850; their progress has been, and will be, slow, and they also affect only parts of this vast country. We evidently require practicable roads in abundance, converging on the Railway lines and the rivers; and the improvement of our river navigation; and all this on an extensive and liberal scale. We have already adverted to the navigation of the Gogra. We believe that there are few rivers like it in India; and that there should be a good road made at once from Lucknow to Fyzabad, and a Steam Company provided to run up the Gogra from Bhagulpore, or some port where the Calcutta Railway line could meet the traffic. But there are other rivers of equal importance. It is conceded that the difficulties of navigating the Nerbudda appear to be impracticable; but the navigation of the Godaverry is feasible, and it seems to us to stand out, at the present time, as the most needful and the most hopeful enterprise in India. The case respecting it was very ably stated in a series of letters

in the *Friend of India* of 1856—commencing on the 31st July. They were signed *H.*, and were presumed to be written by the engineer officer, who has charge of the Godavery Anicut. He said : ‘ Look at the Map. Ninety miles west of Nagpore is Umrujee, and forty-five miles S. S. W. of the same city, Hingunghat, both towns important centres of Cotton districts. The river which flows between them, is the Wurdah, a tributary of the Godavery, and a steamer on it near Hingunghat, would be distant from the Port of Coringa (by the river) 445 miles. Now supposing the steamer to proceed down the river from Hingunghat in the month of July, when the river is in flood, she would find the first 100 miles of it to be perfectly clear, open, and easy navigation ; then for thirty miles, a swifter and more disturbed current, with points of rock appearing here and there, indicating an extensive mass of rock beneath. The next eighty miles would be found perfectly clear sailing, and the current slight ; then would succeed, near the confluence of the Indravatty, ten miles similar to the rocky reach above mentioned ; after this seventy miles of unbroken navigation, without obstruction of any kind ; then fifteen miles of rather rocky bed, but beyond this, for a distance of 112 miles to Dowlaissaram, an easy and unimpeded navigation : at Dowlaissaram, I should ask you to leave the steamer while she passed through the lock into the Cocanada Canal, and to take a look at the first of the five weirs which here span the Godavery, forming together the Grand Anicut, four miles in length, from end to end, with a clear waterway of two miles and a half, and I think, if time allowed of your inspecting this magnificent work, with the three great ducts which lead off the water from it for the irrigation of the Delta, delivering altogether a volume of 1,200,000 cubic yards per hour, or one-third greater than the Ganges Canal, you would admit that after all that has been said of the “ Benighted,” the greatest triumphs of engineering science India can boast, are to be met with, not in the North West, but in Rajahmundry. A fine canal, thirty-three miles long, leads direct from the Anicut to Cocanada, the principal town of this part of Coringa. Thus then you will observe, in the whole distance of 445 miles, there are but sixty miles, where the navigation is impeded by rock in the bed. During the three months from July to September, which include the flood season, these rocks are frequently so completely submerged, as to form no impediment whatever, and a powerful steamer might make several trips between Hingunghat and the Coast, sometimes indeed, ascending the river as high as Natchingram, which is only thirty miles distant from Umrujee.’ He then proceeds to a thorough investigation of

the subject in reference to the whole course of the river, and some of the tributaries, and establishes the feasibility of navigating 1,800 miles, and vindicates Colonel Cotton's general views respecting this and its connected topics, in his book on Public Works in India. The result is a strong impression, that at least *this* subject should be taken up by an immediate and earnest enquiry; and that contemporaneously with the Deccan Railway, the works for opening the Godavery should be vigorously prosecuted. For, with respect to Cotton, there appears to be little doubt, first, that the American and European demand is already beyond the American supply, and that additional supplies from India are urgently required; secondly, that as good Cotton as American Cotton, can be grown in India; thirdly, that with reasonable care it can be obtained in a fit state, and not in its ordinary state, —mixed with dirt; and lastly, that such Cotton can be produced in India, at one penny to two pence a pound. If then, there be rivers, like the Wurdah and Indraverda flowing into the Godavery, and capable of carrying the produce of a vast extent of Cotton country to such excellent ports as Coringa, and Coconada, no ordinary obstacles should be allowed to delay the commencement of the works necessary to open the navigation; and the result would amply repay almost any amount of outlay in the undertaking. But the culture of Cotton in Gujerat, as well as in the Deccan, render Public Works needful, and we believe, that nothing which appears on the subject in Mackay's Western India, is at all an exaggerated statement of past neglect. On the general subject of the cultivation and export of Cotton in India, we cannot here enlarge. It appears probable that outlets are alone wanted, and that they have become so necessary, and so important, that the British Parliament should insist on immediate enquiries and prompt measures.

We have given in former pages some returns which indicate the progress of the Export of Cotton in conjunction with other articles; but the importance of this product, not to Great Britain only, but to China also, requires that we should add some further details, in order to mark the rate of previous progress. Dr. Forbes Royle supplies the following table, for which he acknowledges his obligation to the late Mr. G. R. Porter.

Table of the Aggregate Imports of Cotton into Great Britain, of the Quantities received from the United States, and India respectively, with the prices of the two kinds.

Years.	Aggregate Imports into Great Britain.	Imports from the United States.	Imports from India	Prices of other than Indian Cotton at Liverpool.	Of Surat Cotton at Liverpool.
	lbs.	lbs.	lbs.	pence. pence	pence. pence.
1800	56,010,732	16,000,000	6,629,822	16 to 36	10 to 18
1801	56,004,305	19,000,000	4,098,256	17 to 38	14 to 18
1802	60,345,600	23,500,000	2,679,483	12 to 38	10 to 18
1803	53,812,284	27,750,000	3,182,960	8 to 15	9 to 14
1804	61,867,329	25,750,000	1,166,355	10 to 18	8 to 15
1805	59,682,406	32,500,000	694,050	14 to 19	12 to 17
1806	58,176,283	24,250,000	2,725,450	15 to 21½	12 to 17
1807	74,925,306	53,250,000	3,993,150	15½ to 19	10 to 15
1808	43,605,982	8,000,000	4,729,200	15½ to 36	14 to 25½
1809	92,812,282	13,500,000	12,517,400	14 to 34	11 to 26
1810	132,488,935	36,000,000	27,783,700	14½ to 22½	12½ to 19
1811	91,576,535	46,750,000	5,126,100	12½ to 16	10½ to 13
1812	63,025,936	26,000,000	915,950	13 to 23½	12 to 16
1813	50,966,000	War between England & U.S.	497,350	21 to 30	15½ to 20
1814	60,060,239	4,725,000	23 to 37	18 to 25	
1815	99,306,343	45,666,000	8,505,000	18 to 25½	14½ to 21
1816	93,920,055	57,750,000	10,850,000	15 to 21	14 to 18½
1817	124,912,968	51,000,000	40,294,250	16½ to 23½	14½ to 20
1818	177,282,158	58,333,000	86,555,000	16½ to 22	7 to 20½
1819	149,739,820	57,750,000	62,405,000	10 to 19½	5½ to 14½
1820	151,672,655	89,999,174	20,294,400	8 to 13½	6½ to 12
1821	132,536,620	93,470,745	10,626,000	7 to 11½	6½ to 9½
1822	142,837,628	101,031,766	6,742,040	5½ to 11	5½ to 8½
1823	191,402,503	142,532,112	13,487,250	6½ to 10½	5½ to 8½
1824	149,380,122	92,187,662	17,796,100	7 to 10½	5½ to 8
1825	228,005,291	139,908,699	21,175,700	6 to 19½	5½ to 16
1826	177,607,401	130,858,203	22,644,300	5½ to 8½	4½ to 7
1827	272,448,909	216,924,812	25,742,150	4½ to 7½	3½ to 6½
1828	227,760,642	151,752,289	29,670,200	5 to 7½	3½ to 5½
1829	222,767,411	157,137,396	28,147,700	4½ to 7	2½ to 5½
1830	263,961,452	210,885,358	12,324,200	5½ to 7½	3 to 6
1831	288,674,853	219,333,628	26,828,900	4½ to 7½	3½ to 5½
1832	286,832,525	219,750,753	38,249,750	5 to 8	3½ to 5½
1833	303,656,837	237,506,758	32,755,164	6½ to 12½	4½ to 8½
1834	326,875,425	269,203,075	32,920,865	8½ to 10½	5½ to 7½
1835	363,702,963	284,455,812	41,474,909	9½ to 12½	6½ to 8½
1836	406,959,057	289,615,692	75,746,926	7½ to 11	5½ to 8½
1837	407,286,783	320,351,716	51,577,141	7 to 8½	4½ to 6
1838	507,850,577	431,437,888	40,229,495	6½ to 9	5½ to 6½
1839	389,396,559	311,597,798	47,170,640	5½ to 7½	4½ to 6½
1840	592,488,010	487,856,504	77,010,917	5½ to 7	4 to 5
1841	487,992,355	358,214,964	97,368,812	4½ to 6½	3 to 5
1842	531,750,128	405,325,600	96,555,186	4 to 6	3½ to 4½
1843	674,196,992	558,735,600	68,820,570	4½ to 6	3½ to 4½
1844	646,111,304	517,218,622	88,639,608	3½ to 4½	4 to 4½
1845	721,979,953	626,650,412	58,437,426	2½ to 4½	2½ to 3½
1846	442,759,336	382,526,000	33,771,420	4½ to 7	3½ to 5
1847	474,707,615	364,599,291	83,934,614	6 to 4½	2½ to 2½
1848	713,020,161	600,247,488	84,104,961	3½ to 5½	2½ to 3½
1849	775,469,008	.....	.....	5½ to 8	3½ to 5

We cannot continue the paper in the same form, but we find in the Appendix to the Lords' Report, which we have already quoted, the following statement from the Court of Directors of the aggregate Exports of Cotton from India from 1834 to 1849-50.

Statement exhibiting the Quantities of Cotton exported from India to Great Britain and other Places.

YEARS.	BENGAL.		MADRAS.		BOMBAY.	
	England.	Other Parts.	England.	Other Parts.	England.	Other Parts.
1834-35	3,011,190	25,858,616	3,039,500	1,712,500	32,177,712	32,408,532
1835-36	11,681,706	45,997,884	7,761,500	11,974,500	45,795,596	32,398,996
1,566,408	34,546,456	8,316,000	18,873,500	68,163,901	47,091,927	
1836-37	380,074	16,040,490	1,266,500	3,908,000	38,100,472	59,062,944
1837-38	293,350	17,464,702	2,400,500	8,569,000	31,800,887	69,547,380
1838-39	2,100,346	12,727,978	12,991,500	6,978,500	59,001,134	34,209,52
1839-40	106,434	14,973,440	3,888,500	8,650,500	81,581,688	49,987,749
1840-41	365,620	8,879,191	13,334,000	10,610,500	104,795,091	56,221,477
1841-42	158,732	14,024,418	2,629,000	21,319,500	69,839,914	81,939,416
1842-43	143,142	16,404,798	1,576,500	12,933,500	91,781,824	79,662,004
1843-44	109,636	16,469,184	7,166,000	18,908,500	50,854,590	70,969,407
1844-45	12,154	7,691,580	3,123,900	7,160,000	40,042,243	68,248,573
1845-46	0	9,510,814	3,466,500	9,270,000	87,607,744	59,225,773
1846-47	1,614,433	11,147,072	3,147,746	6,315,332	89,429,561	48,663,151
1847-48	30,513	2,907,098	3,033,728	8,257,037	64,139,278	90,266,812
1848-49	27,306	1,817,971	5,026,023	8,038,957	105,637,028	45,117,955
1849-50						

The Reports of External Commerce for Bengal, Madras, and Bombay, enable us to continue this statement, and we give the value in sterling money at two shillings to the rupee. This latter statement will be a sufficient indication of the capabilities of India; for the progress it manifests has been made under accumulated disadvantages. With adequate means of communication with the sea, the impulse given to the production would be extraordinary. Whether Bombay would then be (as now) the chief port for Cotton Export, or whether Madras, Ceringa, Rangoon, and Calcutta, might not compete with her in importance, would depend on circumstances which we cannot now foresee; but Bombay, in other respects, appears to have a promising future before her, not only as the great port for the arrival and departure of passengers, but also, as the most convenient port for the traffic of all Western India, and of a large part of Central and Western Asia:—

EXPORTS OF COTTON FROM INDIA

To United Kingdom.

1850-51.	lbs.	Value. £	Total Exported.		Total Value. £
			lbs	£	
Bengal	958,080	12,009	2,498,400	281,262	
Madras	9,037,889	116,342	45,188,604	582,279	
Bombay	181,428,883	1,931,365	184,291,863	2,798,032	
<i>1851-52.</i>					
Bengal	624,880	7,811	89,671,200	105,875	
Madras	4,682,380	61,540	85,359,252	103,521	
Bombay	75,829,306	1,101,927	195,710,024	2,906,835	
<i>1852-53.</i>					
Bengal	6,672,040	83,828	32,568,160	407,101	
Madras	16,575,197	191,871	76,067,998	866,507	
Bombay	157,932,069	2,249,986	197,881,840	2,839,390	
<i>1853-54.</i>					
Bengal	1,812,160	22,651	15,964,640	199,363	
Madras	8,703,984	113,782	81,825,840	378,587	
Bombay	127,396,389	1,808,625	172,036,925	2,477,610	
<i>1854-55.</i>					
Bengal .....	.....	.....	7,807,760	91,353	
Madras	8,006,035	104,490	26,849,395	311,942	
Bombay	111,448,366	1,578,928	153,947,800	2,174,390	
<i>1855-56.</i>					
Bengal	12,028,480	150,356	18,912,640	173,353	
Madras	4,792,388	58,899	21,018,464	252,134	
Bombay	165,380,930	2,320,454	217,487,413	3,074,089	

Of the large quantity exported to other countries than Great Britain, we may remark that the average Export to China from Bombay alone in the last five years was 54,450,579 lbs., of the annual average value of £812,380. Indeed, Cotton to Great Britain, and Cotton and Opium to China, constitute a very large portion of the aggregate Exports of Bombay. The Opium exported in 1854-55 was valued at £2,540,000, and in 1855-56 at £2,560,000.

With regard to Railways in India, we believe that no estimate which has been yet published, has reached the probable result of all those lines which pass through the productive portions of the country, and terminate at important ports, or are connected by other lines, or by river, with such ports. The great trunk lines connecting first Calcutta and Allahabad—then Allahabad and Delhi,—then Delhi and Peshawur,—then Bombay, Agra and Delhi,—and then Bombay and Madras,—then Bombay, Jubbulpore and Mirzapore, penetrating Central India, and linking all the chief cities; will be of great importance for military and political, as well as commercial purposes. But the Punjab appears to require most urgently, the recently proposed line from Lahore to Kurrachee. The line from the bank of Ganges to the foot of the Darjeeling hills; the line from Calcutta to Bogwanolah; and from Calcutta to Dacca; and from Cawnpore to Lucknow and Bareilly; appear to us likely to be almost equally valuable, and probably as remunerative. It appears indeed exceedingly doubtful, if the Court of Directors, in guaranteeing the dividend of five per cent., would in any of these cases suffer loss from the date of opening, and in several cases, particularly in respect of the lines terminating at Calcutta, we look for enormous returns.

The subject of Irrigation has been recently dealt with in Colonel Baird Smith's Report on the Cavery, Kistnah and Godavery, (published in 1856 by Smith, Elder and Co.) He says in conclusion: "it has been shewn that the projects either actually executed, or in progress of execution, affect tracts of country containing in the aggregate a total area of fully 20,000 square miles, or twelve and a quarter millions of acres, whereof one-half may be considered as either cultivated or culturable. This aggregate area is inhabited, at present, by a population numbering rather more than four millions of souls, whose material condition ranges from that of the utmost comfort in Tanjore, to that of the utmost depression in Guntoor; but among whom one standard, and that the highest, will ultimately prevail. Of the six millions of acres adapted to irrigation, not less than two millions will have a full supply provided for them, at a cost which in its utmost extent cannot exceed half a crore of rupees, or half a million sterling, in the aggregate; and the annual revenue obtained by the State, on which this powerful stimulus will operate, reaches at this moment to one and a quarter millions of pounds, and may be expected to advance progressively to rather more than two millions per annum. The million and three-quarters of people, forming the population of Tanjore, pay on the average, very nearly, two and half rupees, or five shillings each per annum to the State. The two millions forming the population of Rajahmundry, Masulipatam and Guntoor, pay similarly an equal sum. In the first

case, the area of taxation amounts to 3,900 square miles; in the other, it rises to nearly 17,000 miles; the sum is in the one case paid by a population amounting to 430 in the square mile, occupying a fertile, well cultivated, and well watered region, productive in the highest degree, and the payment is therefore made cheerfully, and balances in arrears are practically unknown; in the other it is paid by a population averaging not more than 130 on the square mile, poor, scattered, depressed, and the payment is therefore reluctantly made, and is a heavy burden, evaded whenever practicable, and hence much in arrears. As the population of the Kistnah and Godavery Delta rises to the standard of Tanjore under the operation of the same causes to which this standard is due, we shall have these two regions inhabited by upwards of seven millions of souls, instead of only two, as at present, and as they will be far more able then than now to pay their two and half rupees each, we shall have a total revenue of one and three-quarter millions of pounds, instead of the £600,000, we now derive from them." And so in another place he says: "I leave the broad and undeniable fact, that on a maximum expenditure and cost of maintenance there are undoubted grounds for anticipating an ultimate return of from fifty to sixty per cent., to speak for itself."

It is satisfactory to know that a plan of Captain Dickens, of the Bengal Artillery, for a similar work on the Soane, is likely to afford to the Bengal Presidency a share in this admirable system, which, dating back to the second century of the Christian era, under a Native monarch, and recently prosecuted in its amended and extended form, by Colonel Cotton, to whose "natural genius for civil engineering, large acquired knowledge, singular professional daring, strong will, and perseverance," Colonel Smith bears honorable testimony,—exhibits to us an incalculable source at once of revenue, and of public and private wealth, and certainly points to a subject which at least deserves and is likely to reward Enquiry. But we forbear entering into other details. The formation of roads, the extension of railways, the navigation of our rivers, works of irrigation, the speedy establishment of a port on the Mutlah, the increase of the steam flotilla on the chief rivers, and the prosecution of the geological surveys, (already undertaken), are the principal branches of Public Works which require consideration, but having adverted to them we must hasten on to other subjects. The cultivation of tea in India, like railways, and the rivers, and like the cultivation of cotton, and irrigation, might well be made the subject of a distinct paper. We can only briefly glance at it. It has been prosecuted for some years with success in Assam, by the Assam Tea Company, but the population is scanty there, and the district is not easily

accessible. The Tea plant has recently been proved to be indigenous in the district of Sylhet in Bengal, and in the adjacent non-regulation province of Cachar. In the North West, Government plantations have been established on the Himalayas in Kumaon and Gurhwall, with remarkable promise, and in the Punjab at Kangra, with even still better results. The Kangra Tea probably is inferior to none in the world, and its cultivation presents the strongest inducement to extended enterprise. It appears that no return on capital invested can be expected under three years or perhaps four, but then it would be a reasonable calculation to expect 300 lbs. per acre, and to sell it at two shillings or one rupee a lb. At present, the Kangra Tea and the Kumaon Tea are in great request in India, at much higher prices, and the indigenous demand will probably rapidly increase, so that it will be long before there is any considerable export, either from the North West or the Punjab. The return of 300 lbs. an acre at two shillings a lb. would give £30 a year; the assessment would be very light indeed; and the invested capital, so far as the returns enable us to judge, would be comparatively low. It is difficult to see how so much as £100 an acre on any extensive plantation could be required. This then is a product which encourages the most extensive and energetic development, and it would be well, if the facts relating to it were widely known and thoroughly understood, both in Europe and America.

The exportation of Fibres has already attracted great attention, but it is probable, that the trade is still merely in its infancy. The various purposes to which Jute is now applied at home, and its cheapness, produce a great demand for it, and the ease with which it is cultivated, and the large return it yields, render it a favorite crop with the Bengali landholder. The probability is that its export will go on increasing, and that in a very few years, the quantity sent out annually, will exceed a million sterling in value. The Rhea is another fibre of great importance, resembling, as it does, the China grass. The price of it at home is very high, and the want of it may increase. But till it is better known, and can be more easily prepared, the export can not be expected to be extensive. If it could be laid down in London at £50 a ton, the demand for it would soon increase, and stimulate the production here. But there are other fibres which are likely to come into general or extended use, and among these the Jubbulpore Hemp, (or sunn), and the Flax. In the former, we have a product capable of competition with the Hemp of Russia; and Flax could be exported in unlimited abundance, with a more skilful arrangement for preserving at once its stalk and its Linseed.

The trade in Opium, as the returns we have quoted shew, has grown and is likely to grow on. The question of Government connection with it is much misunderstood at home, and is sometimes argued, as though the Government here could, if it chose, suppress its cultivation by prohibitory laws. This however, we fear, is impossible, and the Government monopoly therefore, in so far as it operates as a restriction, both on the cultivation, and the use of the drug in this country, is a very important benefit. The case in China wears a very different aspect. The smuggling of Opium in armed vessels, in connivance with the Chinese officials, who are bribed and corrupted ; and the consequences to myriads from the use of the drug ; render the traffic only second to the slave trade, (if indeed, it be second even to that), in iniquity and cruelty. But whether it could be suppressed, save by such a combination of all nations, as is directed against the slave-trade, is very doubtful. The only practical remedy that we know in our own country, and among ourselves, is for Public Opinion to deal with these Opium traders, as it does with pests and nuisances to society, who are living by pandering to the vilest passions, and accumulating wealth, by means on which the curse of God must certainly rest for ever. But very different has been our conduct. We have boasted of our enlightenment, and of our " forbearance" to the Chinese, and have sneered at their barbarism and folly ; while our Christian gentlemen, honored and exalted in society, have been using means to poison them by thousands, for filthy lucre's sake ; and not a few who have called themselves Christians and Englishmen, have been parties to that atrocious system of slave dealing, which annually consigns thousands of entrapped Chinese, as hopeless slaves to Cuba, and as worse than hopeless slaves to the Peruvian Guano Islands. In truth, no offence more disgraceful than the conduct of multitudes of English traders to the people of China, has been committed in the annals of commerce. To crown all by a war on a false pretence of an insult to the British flag, and to commence it by the bombardment of a populous helpless city, is in strict keeping with much that has gone before ; and his vindication of this conduct, doubtless in the eyes of his admirers, adds greatly to the fame of Lord Palmerston, and exhibits in striking colours his zeal for the dignity and honor of our country. Of course the war into which he is now rushing with so much bravado against a pitiable foe, will end as his first China war ended, in an enormous increase of smuggled Opium, or perhaps the traffic will be still further stimulated by the importation being legalized. Since the last war, the Import of Opium into China has increased from 20,000 to 70,000 chests, and this war will doubtless lead to a further corresponding

expansion of the traffic. We talk of the wrongs of Africa ! When the public mind in England is restored to health, we shall begin to hear of the still greater wrongs of China.

The rapidly extending trade in Grain and Seeds, particularly in Rice, Linseed, and Mustardseed, must have attracted the attention of all who have considered the development of India's resources. The readier cultivation of these articles as compared with Sugar, and the greater profit they at present yield, cause them to be preferred to Sugar by the cultivators. The case of Indigo rests on special grounds. It is we fear ordinarily a forced cultivation. The Planter takes a Zemindary or a lease from a Zemindar, and intends to cultivate Indigo. But the question at once occurs, is the Ryot, the small holder, to cultivate what the Planter chooses, or that which he himself prefers ? What is, in fact, the Ryot's tenure ? Is he a yeoman holding a freehold, subject to a rent charge payable to the Zemindar, or is he a tenant at will, whose continuance in possession depends from year to year on the pleasure of his landlord, or is he a mere labourer ? It is a large question, and the probable answer to it will satisfy few Indigo Planters. We apprehend that the Ryot is in the same position as the Feuar in Scotland, or the perpetual householder in Lancashire, who pays a first rent to a head landlord. The idea of the head landlord in those parts, prescribing the crops, is to say the least, novel ; and we apprehend that ordinarily it is a sense of the doubtfulness of the right on the part of Indigo Planters, which induces them to rest rather on an alleged contract in each case, than on a general power as landlords. They usually make advances for the season, and supply the seed—and if this be done *bona fide*, and accepted by the tenant, the obligation to cultivate accordingly, is sufficiently simple. But there is reason to believe, that the ryot is usually allowed no choice in the matter. That there are cases in which he consents to receive an advance for Indigo cultivation, and then, under the influence of a rival Planter and Zemindar, or from the mere hope of a successful fraud, sows other seed, is very probable ; and it is equally likely that in all such cases, the Planter is tempted by the dilatory and expensive process of legal relief, to take the law into his own hands, and to assert his rights, according to his own view of them, in his own way. But generally speaking, it is difficult to believe, that ryots occupying ground in a Talook or Zemindary held by an Indigo Planter, who are necessarily greatly in his power, would venture to sow other seed, if they had consented to receive advances for cultivating Indigo. It may be assumed that the Bengali, with his thirst for gain, will be sufficiently willing, without any constraint, to cultivate a profitable crop ; and that there must be something

peculiar in the case of Indigo, which occasions his reluctance and repugnance ; and we apprehend that as other crops—(Rice, Jute, and Seeds for instance,) become increasingly in demand, this repugnance will increase. The Indigo Planter will be then, as now, of course at liberty to sow Indigo on land in his own proper occupation, but the question, whether he is at liberty to compel the ryots in Zemindaries, which he has purchased, or in the Talooks which he holds of Zemindars, to cultivate it also, in preference to all other crops, is not to be settled in the affirmative, as a matter of course.

In dealing with this subject we are usually met by extraneous considerations. We are told of the capital expended by Planters, and of its great importance to the country, and the like. But great caution is needful in giving assent to all that is said on this point. The cultivation of Indigo originally was stimulated chiefly by the East India Company, which made very large advances on the produce. Mr. Bell states that the Exports in 1786 were 245,011 lbs.; and that it was by means of these advances that the quantity had advanced to 5,570,824 lbs. in 1810. The average amount now is probably about 9,000,000 lbs. the factories having been increased by the great Houses, and many of them having been afterwards kept up at a heavy loss by the Union Bank,—in both cases we venture to think, at the ultimate cost of the unfortunate creditors of those Houses and that Bank. The current outlay now, in the purchase of seed and in labour, is doubtless large, and the annual average export value of the article, may be henceforth stated at about two and a half millions sterling. But the export of Rice from Calcutta and Arracan last year, we believe, was much more than this, and it was raised with far less difficulty, and the profit on it to the people was vastly greater. The cultivator of Indigo knows that he is engaged in a hazardous speculation, and that it is as likely as not, at the end of the season, that the yield of his land, instead of clearing off his advances, and leaving a balance of profit, will leave him in debt to the Planter. Then, further, he is in the hands of middle men who notoriously defraud him. The number of his bundles is most probably counted amiss ; and in settling accounts he has to give all kinds of "customs" into the intervening hands. He is, in fact, "*in the books*" of the factory, and is likely to remain there, *nolens volens*, for life. On the whole then, there is a great deal in the Indigo Planting system as practised in Bengal, which demands enquiry, and which suggests difficult and embarrassing questions. That it is connected with a great deal of severity and injustice, appears very evident ; and that this must *necessarily* be the case, (as is usually said),

is a conclusion which in our minds, at least, does not excite either satisfaction or contentment.

At any rate, enquiry ought not to be refused from the fear of injuring "class interests," and of exciting "class animosities," if the fact be that the opposed "classes" are a few Indigo Planters on the one hand, and myriads of suffering and oppressed people on the other. Or, if this ground be tenable, it must be also conceded that all the measures preliminary to the emancipation of the slaves in the West Indies were objectionable, and that emancipation itself was unjustifiable.

Of the other articles of export, it is probable that considerable progress will be made, ere many years, in Coffee, Tobacco, Cochineal, and Borax. If disturbances increase in China, there may be a largely augmented demand for Silk. And it appears to be very likely that Wheat will assume a greater prominence in the exports of Grain, as soon as the Railroads are sufficiently advanced to reach the most fertile districts. The internal demand of India herself, for her own products and manufactures, will also rise with her advancing civilization, and the demand of her ports, of Calcutta especially, for all the materials of ship-building and of domestic luxuries, will stimulate internal traffic in an extraordinary manner. New wants will arise, the wonderful ingenuity of the people, applied to improve methods of cultivation, and to new arts, will develop new internal resources, and great tracts of country, now the abode of wild beasts, will be cleared, and brought under culture, and the climate being improved, as well as the popular habits, the people may advance in physical vigour and courage.

But the consideration of India's future progress cannot be severed from the thought of the destiny of the whole continent of Asia. The voice of prophecy, the experience of history, the observation of nature, all combine to point to this great continent, as the sphere of the greatest future development of power, wealth, and knowledge. With such a vast population, with such exuberant fertility, with such magnificent rivers, such mineral treasures, and seas studded with such splendid islands; with races of people marked out for eminence by the highest natural gifts; with new influences rapidly working to combine, and unite under European authority, all Eastern nations; and with all those other advantages which are spreading through the globe—proximity by means of steam, the experience of varied wants and mutual dependence, the advancement of intelligence, and the spirit of enterprise and freedom,—Asia is struggling forward out of the sufferings and gloom of centuries, into the enjoyment of peace and prosperity. It may be soon, that we shall see again on the theatre of the world her master-minds; the spirit of ancient sages and heroes animating new sons of the East: the lyre touched again with the re-kindled

fire of earth's first and greatest poets ; patriotism burning again in a new heroic David ; descendants of the Maccabees rousing desponding nations into life ; and the fervour of Paul again inspiring Apostles of the East to give a new impulse to their own and to future generations. We have known in the dreary page of past history, the sad records of energies wasted, wisdom mis-directed, and military skill applied only to spread abroad desolation and ruin. We see still the ascendancy of minds of astonishing force, in the followers of Mohammed, Gaudama, Zoroaster, and Confucius. We meet at every turn, traditions of Akbar, and records of the conquering march of Timour. Nimrod is remembered still. The name of Ishmael is still revered by his posterity ; and the faithful memory of the scattered Jews, mourns still the fatal sins that stripped them of their land, while it treasures up the promise of pardon and future glory, and the fame of their ancient worthies. And we feel how soon, if the animating and ennobling spirit of Christianity were to vivify the powers of some new hero of Asia, the tide of sorrow and affliction might be rolled back, and years of compensating blessing begin to run ! We believe that thus it will be : that assuredly the Deliverer will hasten to release this struggling captive, and to destroy the wasting foe which preys now on the weakened frame. All nature, all tradition, all human expectation, points to the coming time ; and prophecy directs the eye to the source of faith and hope. Already in India much has been attempted. Brahminism has been shaken, and entrance gained for truth. In other lands the powers of evil have been shattered. And there have been the first fruits of the promised harvest in the evangelization of many, who once worshipped dumb idols even as they were led. In very recent days, we have heard of the Karen in Burmah, receiving the Gospel "with all readiness of mind," and scarcely less has been its triumph among the Coles in Central India. As we have seen in other lands, the Moravians (as in Antigua), carrying the blessings alike of Christianity, and liberty to a whole population ; as we now see captured Negroes rescued and brought back to Africa, there to carry to their homes far inland, or up the Niger, the tidings which alone can truly emancipate ; we awaken to the consciousness, that the era of the world's recovery is drawing near. We see the whole creation groaning in bondage ; while boundless wealth, in food for the use of man, is wasted every year in untrdden regions, rich with all the needful treasures of a golden age. But we read that "the earth was formed to be inhabited," and we believe, that by ways far beyond our conception, with the ease of omnipotent skill, the designed result will be accomplished, and the designed purpose fulfilled. And therefore, though now scarcely in the infancy of the world's true manifestation, we lift up our heart, in the assu-

rance that error, suffering, and oppression, will be gradually but completely abolished, and that all the nations will be united in the combined response of praise and worship, to the great Author of their bounties and their joy.

If there be those who deem these topics uncongenial to our main subject, they have altogether mistaken our design in reviewing these foregoing details. We wish to join with others in pleading for India; in producing an intelligent interest in her condition; and in exhibiting her necessities and her claims. We cherish the hope that if, unhappily, merchants have heretofore contented themselves with visiting this land for the sole purpose of realizing some rapid gains, the day is coming when they will be animated by nobler sentiments, and allow benevolence the victory over self. It is a narrow and petty fancy which limits the work of elevating the people of this land to Public Officers and Christian Ministers, or which leads any to say to another, 'I have no need of thee.' In the wise appointments of God, there is an endless diversity of gifts, affording infinite degrees of influence. To the statesman the case of India presents, we believe, at the present time, the grandest and the most hopeful sphere in the world, for the exercise of the most enlarged ability, and the most capacious and the warmest philanthropy; but not less to the merchant, who realizes his duty to "consecrate his gain to the Lord, and his substance to the Lord of the whole earth," it affords scope for the noblest liberality, and unrivalled opportunities of speedy and extensive usefulness. Hitherto, there has been little effort to do good, and little desire to gain the attachment of the people, or to deserve their gratitude; there have been few attempts to obtain acquaintance with their true condition;—all has been hurry to gain riches, and hurry to return home, unblessing and unblest. If India has been neglected, there have been few at home to claim a hearing on her behalf; fewer still who have spoken, with genuine feeling or intelligence, of her distresses. The general tone of all has been the cold and careless echo of "Am I my brother's keeper?" and it has been seldom that injustice has roused any to demand even a fair and deliberate enquiry. If now the conviction, at least, of *this* duty be spread widely abroad; if the importance of thus commencing the discharge of England's responsibility to this long neglected empire, be now recognized and admitted; we shall look at no distant day for a result surpassing all present apparent probabilities, in the improvement of the Government, in the enlightenment of the people, in the extension of commerce, and in the diffusion of Indian, and British influence, throughout the whole continent of Asia.

ART. VI.—*Reports of Cases determined in the Court of Nizamut Adawlut at Calcutta for 1855.* Calcutta. Thacker, Spink and Co.

SIR EDWARD COKE, in the preface to the first part of his Reports, says:—“When I considered how by her Majesty’s princely care and choice, her seats of justice have been ever, for the due execution of her laws, furnished with Judges of such excellent knowledge and wisdom, (whercunto they have attained in this fruitful spring time of her blessed reign), as I fear that succeeding ages shall not afford successors equal unto them, I have adventured to publish certain of their resolutions, &c.” We know not whether similar considerations have weighed with the publishers of the Reports of the Sudder Nizamut Adawlut at Calcutta, the highest Criminal Court in Bengal. But with whatever motive they may be published, the volume which we have taken as the subject of this article, (and which has been selected merely because it happens to be the latest,) is very instructive and interesting, and affords abundant materials for reflection.

All full accounts of criminal trials are interesting. The evidence of the witnesses, when given in detail, shews more of the real manners and customs of the people, than any thing else, short of personal intercourse, can do. It may not perhaps be with the best class of the people that the reader is brought into contact: but to get a distinct glimpse of the private life of *any* class,—of their motives and feelings,—gives a considerable acquaintance with the whole body. We venture to say, that for one whose lot is not cast in India, or rather in the Mofussil, and who is desirous of informing himself as to the manners and customs of the natives in Bengal, no book could be found more fitted than these reports of the Sudder Nizamut Adawlut, to give him the information sought for. From them may be seen how the natives live, act and suffer: and a fair opinion may be formed of the manner in which criminal justice is administered, and of the state of the country generally. If the reader be an Englishman, he will find a further interest in these reports, inasmuch as they will occasionally shew him a good deal of his fellow-countrymen in India, and of the manner in which they comport themselves in their various positions.

The cases which come before the Sudder Court are all of them important, the crimes charged being generally the heaviest known to the calendar. Some of these cases come up on appeal from the decisions of the Inferior Courts: others are referred by the Lower Courts for the final decision of the Sudder. The latter course is followed, either where the nature of the crime of

which the prisoner is accused, is such that no Court but the Sudder can deal finally with it; or where the Lower Court considers a more severe punishment necessary than it has power of itself to order,—such as death, or transportation for life. In cases which have to be referred to the Sudder, the Lower Court, after trial in the ordinary manner, records its opinion, recommending the punishment which seems suitable. This recommendation is, in fact, the sentence of the Court making it, and as such we always treat it. It must therefore be borne in mind, that when in the course of the following remarks, we speak of the *sentence* of the Lower Court, we may mean either an actual sentence or only a recommendation.

The Sudder Court is a Court of ultimate Criminal Jurisdiction: its decision is final, there being no appeal from it to the Privy Council, as there is when it sits as a Civil Court. In such a Court, dealing with such subjects as we have described, we should naturally expect to find many questions of law,—we mean pure law,—discussed and decided. But strange to say, this is not the case. If such a point does happen to be decided, it is so merely incidentally, and as if it were the least important part of the whole case. There is no dealing with any subject *generally*; no deliberate laying down of the law, so as to be much of a guide or authority for the future.

So far as we understand it, the custom is for the Judge of the Lower Court to furnish the Sudder Court with a full statement of the case sent up, and with the conclusions he has come to, and his reasons for coming to them: along with these, are sent the depositions of the witnesses who have been examined. The manner in which these statements are prepared, is not always very judicial or dignified: and many of them exhibit a playfulness of imagination, which we should hardly have supposed could exist among a set of gentlemen who have spent the best part of their lives in a climate such as that of India. In many cases, they appear to aim much more at what they consider fine writing, than at making a simple, or strictly accurate statement of the matter with which they are dealing.

Thus in the statement of one case, the charge being murder, and there being several prisoners,—one of them a woman whose intrigues with the deceased had probably caused the murder,—we find the following passage:—

“The standard of virtue amongst native females is not a high one: though I do not mean to say they are *all* unchaste: far from it, and if the practice of *Suttee* was restored, scores would resort to it again, on the death of their husbands, to shew by precept that they were chaste.

“Chaste as the icicle

That's curdled by the frost from purest snow,
And hangs on Dian's temple.”—P. 758, Nov.

—really very poetical and pretty, coming from a gentleman writing on a matter of the life or death of no less than three persons !!

Again, in a case in which arson, robbery, and attacking the police were combined, the Judge of the Lower Court gives a long introduction to his statement. After mentioning that the circumstances out of which the prosecution arose, had their origin in a dispute between two persons who jointly possessed certain estates, one (whom we shall call A), having a $\frac{1}{2}$ share, and the other (whom we shall call B), having a $\frac{1}{6}$ share, the Judge proceeds :—

“ At length A seems to have resolved on taking vigorous measures to put down opposition, come from what quarter it might. For this purpose he secured the good will of two brothers, indisputably the most notorious, turbulent, characters to be found in this notorious lawless district. These brothers are Gugun Meah and Mohun Meah, (*since not inappropriately named the Gog and Magog of these parts*). The means employed to gain them over was a lease on easy terms of several desirable properties ; but this compact was destined to be of short duration, for, &c. * * The alliance was thus cut asunder, and these parties became his worst enemies. Innumerable were the cases these parties brought against each other, but the long purse of A soon exhausted the strength of the Meahs in this expensive and profitless warfare, and then the Meahs changed their tactics. Leaving A to the Courts, the Meahs gave him real cause to resort to them. They plundered A’s zemindary cutchery, robbed and oppressed all who professed to be favorable to him, and this kind of life proved so tempting, from the plunder obtained, that the Meahs were able, without any means of their own, to collect and keep together a force which A’s hired hands were not strong enough to cope with.” * * * *Pp. 272—3, Feb.*

He then goes on to state the facts of the case before him. It is to be observed that although one of these identical Meahs was on his trial, there was no evidence whatever before the Judge of any of the matters which furnished him with the introductory flourish, from which we have made the above quotation. The Sudder Court very properly takes notice of the impropriety of thus trying to establish a general imputation against the prisoners : but curiously enough, they, at the same moment, adopt the introduction themselves, by adding “ though not without foundation.” The judgment of the Sudder Court goes on :—

“ The report should be founded on matter strictly connected with the several offences charged on the record, and supported by legal evidence. The *soubrequets* of Gog and Magog given to the two brothers, Gugun and Mohun, in the Sessions Judge’s letter of reference, are quite out of place, and evince a levity which is too indiscreet to be passed over without some notice.” — *P. 298, Feb.*

It ended in the unfortunate Gog having a sentence passed upon him of imprisonment for fourteen years with irons and labor.

The Inferior Courts are not always so respectful to their superiors as they might be. When a case is remanded for review, or any other purpose, such a proceeding is occasionally somewhat irritating to the Judge whose decision is called in question, and the disapprobation which is felt, is sometimes expressed. By the law as it exists in Bengal, if a man is tried on several distinct charges and found guilty on each, the Judge may give him one consolidated sentence for all, instead of a distinct punishment for each offence. Gog, (the same person we have just been speaking of,) and several other persons, were brought up charged on various indictments at once. The Judge tried them on some, and then passed a consolidated sentence on them, without trying them upon the others, or in any way disposing of them. The Sudder Court sent back the proceedings, saying that the prisoners "were entitled to a decision in the Sessions Court, on the charges, which could not be allowed to hang over them, and it was the duty of the Sessions Judge, either to convict or acquit them." The Sessions Judge tried them as desired, but wrote back :—

"Though I did not try the two omitted cases, the charges were not kept pending over the prisoners. * * * Every prisoner convicted and sentenced, I should have regarded as done with ; but any prisoner acquitted altogether would be subjected to be tried on the two uninvestigated charges. Nor can I see any inconvenience or injustice in this. *A man who has broken the laws must be tried in the way most convenient to those who have the administration of the law.* It is better that a prisoner be subjected to trial on a fresh count after his acquittal on some former charge, than that a Sessions Judge should employ his time for five or six days in the trial of a multitude of kindred cases, for fear that the Nizamut Adawlut reverse some of his convictions." —P. 271, Feb. 7.

He also remarks :—

"As hanging is the limited punishment for any number of cases of murder, so I regard fourteen years' imprisonment as the proper limit for any number of crimes less than murder." * * *

To which the Sudder replies :—

"The Sessions Judge has entirely forgotten that, for obvious reasons, the power of Courts of Justice over a criminal must be limited by a sentence of death, while they can exercise the power of secondary punishment at their discretion, to any extent sanctioned

by the law in other cases. The Sessions Judge's reasoning, is therefore both misplaced and illogical."

It is quite incomprehensible, how such a production as that of the Sessions Judge is altogether—for we have given but a small portion of it—should have been tolerated at all. The only excuse for it appears to be, that when the case was originally remanded, neither Court fully understood what the other had done, or intended should be done.

There seems to be no disposition on the part of the Lower Courts to put their light under a bushel, for we find them not unfrequently bringing to the notice of their superiors, the excellent manner in which the prosecution has been conducted, and a conviction obtained. Thus, one Judge, in a murder case, having said that he considered that transportation for life would be a sufficient punishment, on account of the prisoner's youth, continues :—

"With these remarks I leave the case in the Court's hands, trusting they will approve of the care and despatch shewn in its preparation and reference, not more than nine days having intervened between the perpetration of the crime, and the recommendation of the prisoner for punishment."—P. 67, July.

The Sudder Court took no notice of this passage, but quietly ordered that the prisoner should be hanged instead of transported,—and indeed, as it happened, he did very well deserve to be hanged.

The number* of cases reported for the year 1855, is 637; and in most of them there was more than one prisoner. In 228, or rather more than one-third of these cases, the prisoners or some of them were successful; 377 persons who had been convicted and sentenced, were acquitted: thirty-two persons were released and set at liberty, the proceedings against them being quashed for irregularity: the punishments of twenty-six criminals were increased: those of 104 were diminished. In all, 507 of the sentences passed by the Lower Courts, were altered, exclusive of the cases in which the proceedings against thirty-two persons were quashed.

Such a state of things is very far from what it ought to be: an immediate remedy for it, however, it is not easy to discover. The Sudder Court seems often to interfere very needlessly and capriciously with the decisions of the Lower Courts, in cases

* These figures are *materially* correct. There may for certain reasons be some slight inaccuracy, but none such as in any way to affect the general results shown.

where the whole question is, as to the amount of credit to be given to the evidence adduced. It is not sufficiently borne in mind, that where many witnesses have been examined, and there is much conflict of evidence, no two persons, however careful or intelligent, ever take *exactly* the same view of the matter, and that, under such circumstances, the chances are that the man who is on the spot, and who has personally seen and dealt with the witnesses, is more likely to come to a right conclusion, than the man who has had none of these advantages. These reports, however, fully prove the necessity which exists for having an appeal from the Lower Courts, and that the appeal to the Sudder, even such as it is, is a great benefit; they shew how much more unsafe, both life and liberty would be in the Mofussil, if there were no appeal.

That life and liberty are most unsafe in the Mofussil, is very evident. If so many of those charged with the most heinous crimes, and tried by the most experienced Judges in the country, were improperly convicted and sentenced, what must be the case of the countless alleged offenders brought up on charges summarily disposed of in the Mofussil, and which there is no possibility of bringing in appeal before the Sudder Court. For one case of importance sufficient to give the prisoner the right of appeal to the Sudder Court, there are multitudes disposed of daily, in which he has no such right: and in these minor cases too, the persons who try them are often without any experience whatever,—mere lads learning their business as Magistrates, and barely yet understanding half that is said to them by the prisoners, or any one else in their Court. We say, if there is such a failure of justice in so many of the most important cases, tried with the greatest care, and by the best Judges in the country, what must the failure be in the minor cases, tried with less care, and very often, by confessedly bad Judges? And what an amount of misery and suffering must all this produce?

Contemplate for a moment the sufferings endured by the unjustly convicted men whom the Sudder Court in 1855, acquitted and released. Each of these individuals was taken from his home, seized and examined by the police, (and who shall say what he suffered at *this* stage of the proceedings?) ; examined and committed by the Magistrate; tried and convicted by the Sessions Judge; sent back to prison (in a few cases perhaps he would be allowed to remain out on bail): and kept in suspense, and agony, until the order for his release arrived from the Sudder Court. Add to this, that in many cases the prisoner has been dragged for miles over the country, to the place of trial; that in nearly all cases, several months elapse, between the original charge and apprehension by the police, and the final

acquittal by the Sudder Court,—and that, throughout the whole proceedings, a constant expenditure of money is requisite! And for all this there is no compensation. Indeed, there can be no compensation; for the injury done to the feelings of the acquitted and of his relatives and friends, is not an injury for which any real amends can be made. To the feelings of a native, if his position in the world be at all above the very lowest, the shock produced by such proceedings, is as great as it would, in the like case, be to an Englishman in his own country. But it never seems to occur to any body, from policemen to Sudder Judges, that natives have any feeling; and as to pitying a man for what he has gone through, owing to the blunders or viciousness of the police or of the Courts, or supposing he has any right to complain,—such a thing is never dreamt of. If a prisoner is eventually acquitted, his acquittal never gives much satisfaction to any body; he is thought only too lucky in getting off at all. And lucky indeed he is, for the whole matter is pretty much a calculation of chances!

A case in the Sudder Court is heard in the first instance by two Judges. If they agree in their opinion, they dispose finally of the case: but if they differ, they refer the case to a third Judge, and his decision, if it agrees with that of either of his brethren, concludes the matter. Should he again take a view of his own, distinct from the other two, the case is referred to a fourth Judge,—and so on, until a majority in favor of some one view, can be got.

Of this there is a striking instance, in a case* of affray attended with wilful murder. The Lower Court convicted seven of the prisoners, and sentenced them each to fourteen years' imprisonment with labor. In the Sudder Court, one Judge acquitted them all; but the other acquitted only three of them, confirming the sentence of the Lower Court as to the other four. There being thus a difference of opinion between the two Sudder Judges as to the fate of the latter, the case was, as to them, referred to a third Judge. He took an entirely fresh view of the matter; he approved of their conviction, but not of their punishment, which he considered too light, as they had committed murder, and should, he thought, have been transported for life. As the third Judge thus differed from both the others, a fourth was called in. He agreed with the first, in acquitting *all*. So in the end, the disputed four were acquitted and set at liberty, after having run the gauntlet of nearly the whole Sudder Bench.

This practice is followed even where the ground of dissent of

* P 560, May.

the Judge who wishes to interfere with the Lower Court's decision, is that, the sentence passed is too light, and ought to have been death. Thus, in a murder case,* the Lower Court considered it proved that the prisoners were guilty,—but apparently only in the second degree,—and sentenced them to transportation for life. This decision was upheld by one of the Judges in appeal. The other, however, was of a different opinion. "The crime of which the prisoners are guilty is 'deliberate and wilful murder, and the penalty is death, and 'to that doom I would consign them both.'" The case was referred to a third Judge, and as he agreed that sentence of death should be passed, the Lower Court's sentence was altered, and the men were hanged.

This does seem to be a very loose and reckless manner of dealing with human life. It is a sufficiently awful and dangerous thing to execute the extreme penalty of the law upon a criminal, even when Juries and Judges are all agreed. But that any two persons should, merely upon reading the depositions of the witnesses, and other papers connected with the case, take upon themselves to convert into a sentence of death, a minor sentence which had appeared sufficient to the Court which tried the prisoner, and to an appellate Judge of position and authority equal to their own, is to us perfectly astonishing. It will not be denied, that no man ought to be punished capitally so long as there is any reasonable doubt of his guilt deserving death: yet it cannot be said, that there is no reasonable doubt, where a man is hanged, notwithstanding the opinion of the Lower Court, and of one of the three Sudder Judges, before whom his case is heard, that he ought not to be so.

The proper apportionment of the punishment to the crime committed, is one of the most important questions for the consideration of the Judge and Magistrate, as well as of the Legislator. There are two principles by which it ought to be regulated. The severity of the punishment should depend on the heinousness of the crime: and (which is a corollary of the first) where the crime is the same, the punishment should be the same. But practically these principles are very difficult to carry out, as appears from the great inconsistency and capriciousness often observable in the sentences of Criminal Courts even in England. It is not surprising that we find a good deal of caprice and inconsistency in the punishments awarded here.

At p. 973, *Dec.*, is the report of the trial of two persons, Akbar and Haran, the former charged with committing a rape, the latter with aiding and abetting. The offence charged, was

* P. 582, *Oct.*

proved against each. Haran had aided by putting a cloth on the mouth of the prosecutrix, and afterwards by holding back a woman who came to the rescue.

At p. 994, *Dec.*, is the report of the trial of one Sabee for the like offence. In this case also the charge was fully proved. In both cases, the prosecutrices are said to have been persons of unimpeachable character,—in both the offence was as wanton and gross an outrage as possible,—in neither is there any one ingredient which makes it worse than the other. Yet what are the sentences? The one principal, Akbar, gets only four years' imprisonment; the other, Sabee, gets seven years. The abettor Haran gets only two years. Can it be doubted that there is a failure of justice here? Either Sabee got three years too much; or Akbar got three years too little.

Again let us compare the case of Akbar and Haran with the case of Ido, heard in appeal by the same Judges on the same day.* Ido was tried for attempting to get a situation as cook by means of a forged character. The Lower Court states the case thus:—

“The prisoner admitted having uttered the certificate, but denied that it was a forgery. The prisoners offered himself as a cook to Mrs. A., stating that he had served in that capacity in the families of Mr. B., and other gentlemen; he produced a certificate signed C. B. which he said had been written and presented to him by the late Mrs. B.”

It was proved that the certificate was not written or signed by Mrs. B., or any member of the family; and that the prisoner had never served in that family at all. The prisoner was therefore very properly convicted: and he was sentenced “to imprisonment for three years with labor,—the labor being commutable to a fine of fifty rupees,” which sentence was confirmed.

Now whether Ido deserved three years' imprisonment for what he had done, we shall not stop here to enquire: very possibly he did. But if he did, can any reasonable person deny that Akbar deserved more than four years, for the rape which he committed, and that Haran deserved more than two years for aiding and abetting therein, in the manner we have described? The Sudder Court, by passing these sentences, have in fact, (although doubtless they did not mean to do so), declared it to be their opinion that it is a less offence by one-third to hold a woman while another commits a rape upon her, than to use a false character in order to get a situation as cook: and that to use a false character in getting a place as cook is only by one-fourth a less

* P. 969, *Dec*

heinous crime than actually to commit an atrocious and aggravated rape !

Jealousy is the cause of very many murders, and attempts to murder ; and those who commit offences under the influence of it are, as a general rule, dealt with very leniently. Thus we find a prisoner convicted by the Lower Court of assault with wounding, and sentenced to five years' imprisonment with labor. He had inflicted on his victim "a very severe incised wound on the left breast," given by a *dao* or hatchet, but the prosecutor's life was not in danger. The circumstances, under which the wound was given, appear from the remarks of the appellate court :—

" We believe the story told by the prosecutor on the spur of the moment, is the true story ; that he had an intrigue with the prisoner's wife, and went for that purpose into the house, when he was detected and wounded. We are of opinion, that the assault, which was, we have every reason to suppose, committed under these circumstances, was justifiable. We therefore acquit and release the prisoner."—P. 214, Feb.

The prisoner himself simply denied having touched the prosecutor, and set up an alibi !

And so in several other cases. One of them is particularly worthy of notice, because the prisoner was acquitted, although it was proved that the weapon was bought beforehand for the express purpose of attacking the prosecutor,—that " the wound ' was severe and dangerous, the weapon a deadly one, and the ' attack premeditated.'*

How far such leniency is desirable when assaults of so deadly a nature have been committed, is very questionable. We should rather have expected that in a country where so many people have but too good cause to be jealous, and where every man when excited is ready for violence of any kind, all such sudden outbreaks of passion would be checked with the utmost severity. We confess we do not comprehend how such an excuse can entitle a man to his acquittal.

So uncertain, however, are all things in the law, that defences of this nature, though generally successful, are not always so. This is shewn by a case at p. 552, May, and another at p. 844, Nov. In the latter case, the prisoner was, on his own confession, found guilty of murder and sentenced to transportation for life with labor in irons ; although the dishonor of his sister was the exciting cause,—" the provocation was intense, and the ' act of murder unpremeditated, and on sudden impulse.'"

The reports contain many interesting accounts of affrays and

* P. 237, Feb.

riots, and they shew that not unfrequently regular pitched battles are fought by large bodies of men, all armed after the native fashion, with clubs, swords, and spears. In such fights, many of the combatants are professional *latteeals*. These persons live by violence, and serve their master chiefly for the purpose of fighting for him. But while they serve as *latteeals*, a good deal of business is generally done by them on their own account as *dacoits*, or gang-robbers: indeed, we believe that a large proportion of the hundreds of dacoits who have of late years been hanged or transported, were also *latteeals*. In many districts, one piece of ground is the scene of so many fights in the course of the season. A. claims the ground as belonging to his estate: B., as belonging to his. Each keeps his *latteeals* in readiness, knowing well that when the sowing season comes, there must be a struggle. The sowing time arrives, and A. sends off his people to sow the disputed territory. Down come B.'s *latteeals*. A.'s men advance to support the sowing party, and then ensues a general fight, resulting in broken heads and limbs, and sometimes death. Should the land, notwithstanding, be sown, the same scene may be repeated when A. goes to carry off the crop: or, very possibly, B. may not have had patience to wait till then, but may have made a desperate, though fruitless, attempt to cut the crop while green, in which he was defeated only by the most strenuous exertions of A.'s retainers.

All this goes on to a considerable extent even in the more accessible districts, and under the very eyes of Magistrates and Police. Of course it is carried on with tenfold vigour in the more remote parts, where a Magistrate is rarely, or never seen. The truth is, that neither Magistrates nor Police are strong enough to prevent it; all they do,—and under existing circumstances it is probably all they can do,—is to try to find out the aggressors after all is over, and to have them punished. If the Police are present at an affray, they seldom are of the smallest use.

In the report of the trial of some eight persons for riot and wounding, and resisting the Police, after stating that on the application of the landlord to the Police, a *muskooree peadah* named Bachu had been sent to protect an attachment, issued by the landlord, of the crops of certain tenants who had not paid their rents, the Judge gives the following account of what occurred.

"On the 5th of December, another application was made to the Police to furnish further aid in preserving the attachment, as the villagers seemed inclined to combine, and would in that case carry

off the attached crops. Upon this, an order was sent to the *Foujdar* of Gobindpore to proceed to the spot, and prevent the removal of the crop. Accordingly the *Fareedar* having collected from twenty to twenty-five *chowkeydars* from the villages round about, proceeded to the spot, where he found the *peahah* Bachu engaged with ten or fifteen men in cutting the crops. He had no sooner arrived than the villagers of Salgong and Burso began simultaneously to appear in large forces, and with shouts of *mar mar*, and armed with clubs, were making towards the *fureedar* and his party. The latter were soon dispersed, and those who had the courage to remain were more or less beaten. The first scene of the act being over, those of the rioters who came from Salgong returned thither with all speed ; and entering the yard in which Luckhun and Ramsook had several joint granaries, the villagers cut the outer mats of the *golas*, whereby the grain in them was poured on the ground. A general plunder then ensued, which seems to have been participated in by the women and children of the whole village, and it did not cease till all four *golas* were nearly emptied of their contents."—P. 754, June.

This was a riot not attended by any act of very great atrocity. Here is an account of another, in which the numbers engaged were small, but the violence used great.

The landlady, through a servant, had applied for the protection of the Police to distrain property belonging to a defaulting tenant.

"A *muskooree peon* was sent from the thannah with the servant, and on reaching the ground, was warned off by the prisoners, Nos. 8 and 9, who were armed, and four other armed men with them. The prisoner No. 8 had a spear and shield : No. 9 had a sword and shield. Prisoners Nos. 10, 11, 12, 13 and 14, (servants of the landlady), were cutting the crop on the ground, when the other party attacked them, and they appear to have retreated, throwing bricks and clods. No. 7, at a little distance off, gave orders for the affray. In the affray Gurrib and Maharaj, who were with the landlady's party cutting the crop, were killed. Gurrib met his death at the hands of No. 8, who speared him in the stomach,—No. 9 afterwards striking him with his sword. Maharaj was killed by Dewan Sikh Jemadar, on the part of Kaleedass Baboo, who, as well as his master, has since absconded and evaded arrest."—P. 455, April.

The lower Court sentenced Nos. 7 and 8 to seven years' imprisonment with labor in irons in banishment. This sentence was confirmed ; but such of the landlady's servants as were prisoners were acquitted ; the Sudder Court considering that although there were fair grounds for inferring that these prisoners were not altogether so innocent as their witnesses testified, still there was no evidence that they went armed, or opposed with force the violent assault made on them.

Two rich widow ladies had large landed estates which were contiguous. The dwelling houses of these ladies were close to each other; and in the immediate neighbourhood of her house, each had a bazaar, a village with shops in it, to which shops each expected, and ordered all the tenants on her estate to resort. A disagreement unfortunately took place between the ladies, as to a wall which was being built between their residences. This disagreement in time became a bitter feud. The servants of each began to attempt to entice or drive away the bazaar people of the other, and to interfere with them going to her bazaar; each began to employ *latteeals* for the purpose of protecting her own property, and injuring that of her neighbour. Notice of the state of affairs was given to the police by each party, but was apparently unproductive: and at last a tremendous riot and fight took place, in which one man was killed, many were wounded, and every possible act of plunder and violence committed.*

Here is a good account of a night attack by one set of villagers upon another:—

"Nackua and Chackla are contiguous villages, belonging to two rival Zemindars. The first is owned by Rajnarain Roy, while Prannath Chowdry is proprietor of the second. The villages are in the Soonderbuns, where the scarcity of cultivators makes every man of that class a valuable chattel to the possessor.

"It seems that last year Rajnarain's agents in Nackua sent an escort of armed men, and brought away at dead of night several of Prannath's ryots, among whom was the witness Panaullah. There is reason to think, that overtures having been made to him, he became reconciled to his late landlord, and was willing to return to his estate; but where ryots are not plentiful, it is not an easy matter for a ryot to escape from a village, except he consents to do so with the sacrifice of his worldly goods. But a ryot without cattle or plough, and with no means of supporting himself, is but a poor acquisition; and when Panaullah agreed to return to Chackla, it became, of course, necessary to devise means for bringing away his family and property. Accordingly, Prannath's Naib assembled their dependents and tenants, and on the night of the 5th March, 1855, proceeded to bring away Panaullah, his family, and worldly goods. Their arrival in the village in force, and at that hour of night, caused an uproar; and the object of the nocturnal visit not being altogether unknown to the adherents of Rajnarain Roy, the latter were not slow to call together their men to oppose the invaders. A mutual fight was likely to have occurred; but sudden vigorous measures, on the part of Prannath's men, quickly decided the issue in their favor, and made their opponents take to flight, *cowed by the sight of two of their num-*

ber mortally wounded. Secured against further resistance, Prannath's men collected together whatever property they could lay their hands on, without regard of course whether it belonged to Prannath or not, and then made off in boats to their own village."—P. 954, Dec.

Cattle-trespass is a frequent cause of these murderous attacks. There is one case, for instance, in which five persons were tried for riot with murder. A cow had strayed on to a piece of waste land of one of the prisoners. The cowherd who had charge of the animal, went to drive it away. He was struck by one of the people connected with the land. This was the commencement of a riot. The prisoners, and another not yet apprehended, riotously came armed with *lattees*, when the two prosecutors were assaulted and beaten, and one of the prisoners struck the deceased a blow with a club near the region of the heart, which killed him on the spot.*

Again in another case :—

"The affray seems to have arisen from some dispute regarding the grazing of the belligerents' cattle. On the day previous there had been a dispute, in which the first party (prisoners—1, 2, and 3) had received some wounds. On the next day, a more determined fight took place, when the deceased was killed, and others on both sides were wounded. The prisoners of the second party appear to have been the aggressors, and to have fought most recklessly. Prisoner No. 11 is proved to have struck the deceased with an iron bar, which was the immediate cause of his death."

And yet the punishment for the murder committed was only seven years' labor in irons.†

We wish we could find room for some more extracts from the numerous affray cases with murder, which are reported, for they are highly illustrative of the state of the country in general, as well as of the way in which the natives when excited treat each other. It appears to us that an undue leniency is shewn, as regards these affrays, and riots attended with loss of life. One cause of this, no doubt, is the knowledge that affrays are in some degree rendered necessary from the want of any sufficient police, and of the means of enforcing one's right in the country, with any reasonable amount either of certainty or speed. The person employing *lattees* very often does so for the protection merely of his just rights, of which he would otherwise be defrauded; and many an affray which ends in bloodshed, and violence of every description, is commenced, with no evil intention, and in perfect good faith, by one who knows that unless he

* P. 220, Feb.

† P. 119, Jan.

help himself, no one will help him, and he will lose his all. Still while such things last, the country must be in a state of great demoralization ; and it is evident that a much stronger ruling hand is required in Bengal than at present exists. These fatal conflicts, and the uncertainty of life and property that they give rise to, call for a speedy and effective remedy,—such as is to be found only in an increased number of Judges and Magistrates, and an improved police.

The history of lattees and dacoits as appearing from these reports,—their roving adventurous lives,—their fights and plundering expeditions, are really quite romantic ; and their utter scorn of the very idea of earning their bread honestly, or in any way but by the use of arms and plunder, remind us much of the Highlanders as they existed in Scotland not very many years ago, (though we fear our Scotch cousins will not be much gratified by the comparison.) Bishto Ghose was sentenced to transportation for life for being a dacoit. The Lower Court thus states his case ; and the statement is fully borne out by the man's confession, which is unfortunately not set out at length in the case, but which shews him to have been a regular *lattecal* for some time before he became a dacoit also :—

"The man's history is indeed a most remarkable one, and if any doubt did ever exist in any quarter, as to the need, and the utility of an extraordinary agency to cope with, and suppress the crime of dacoity, the perusal of the prisoner's adventures would dispel such doubts. It will hardly be believed that any one could commit half a hundred *dacoities*, and still leave so little tangible proof of his own guilt, that, were it not that the prisoner crimинates himself, there is no other sufficient proof to convict him. Being apprehended, he very soon volunteered to give a history of his life. Interesting as that history is, it may be told in a few words. From tending cattle he became a bold and practised clubman. Expert in the use of his favorite weapon, and made daring by the frequent use of it, he disdained the humble occupation of a cowherd, and readily listened to the first overtures made to him to exchange it for the eventful, easier, and more lucrative life of a *dacoit*. From being a member, he soon became the head of a gang. He recollects the particulars of forty-seven different acts of *dacoity* by land and water, and there is little doubt, he has forgotten twice that number."—P. 648, Oct.

At p. 523, May, we have a trial for murder. The accused was convicted and sentenced to death. He was deaf and dumb, and had been so from infancy : but notwithstanding his infirmity, he was a professional *lattecal*, and was eventually hanged for a murder committed by him in the ordinary course of the duties of his calling !

The volume teems with dacoity cases, the details of many of

which are very extraordinary. For example, we have* the trial of eleven men for having belonged to a gang of dacoits. These men gave the particulars of numerous dacoities committed by them, some with one gang, some with another. One prisoner admitted that he was present at fifty-eight of these dacoities, another admitted being present at forty ; another was concerned in twenty-one; another was present at forty-five ; two, at ten ; one, at seven ; one, at thirteen ; another, at fifteen ; another, at thirty-two. They were all convicted, chiefly on their own confessions, and sentenced to be transported for life.

While the announcement made by Mr. Danby Seymour, that torture was practised as a mean for enforcement of the payment of Revenue took some people by surprise, every person who knew much of India was well aware of its being constantly employed by the police in the discharge of their duties. In truth, torture always has been practised here, and will be so, for many a day to come ; and it always has been and is now practised, in a greater or less degree, in every police office in the country, with the full knowledge of every Magistrate and Judge in the country. We do not mean to say that any Magistrate or Judge takes part in, or even is aware of any particular case of torture, while it is going on ; but they all daily hear complaints of it from the prisoners brought before them, and they know well that there is some foundation for these complaints. To get at legal proof of such an offence having been committed by the police, is not easy. Besides, the difficulty of proving any thing in a country like India is so great, that by persons of experience in the Mofussil, a little pressure on a prisoner is not looked upon as any thing very unfair or improper : for it is known that unless the police succeed in getting information out of the accused themselves, there is but small chance of a conviction.

If proof of this is wanted, let the Reports of the Sudder Nizamut Adawlut be carefully read, *passim* : every where will be found abundant evidence of the existence of torture, and of its existence being known to every body. In the volume for 1855, there are several cases in which the offence was actually proved and the offenders punished.

The Darogah, two Jemadars, and two Burkundazes, attached to a thannah or police station within twenty miles of Calcutta, were tried and found guilty by the Lower Court, which makes the following remarks on the case :—

“ In fixing a punishment adequate for the offence, and for example at the same time, must be taken into consideration the temptations into which newly appointed native police officers are led, from the

too successful concealment, with which others before them have perpetrated this offence,—two-fold flagitious : first for the torture itself, and next in the possibility of its eventually resulting in severest punishment of the innocent. Likewise is to be considered the temptations they are exposed to, by their being permitted to carry away, on the merest suspicion, to the thannah, servants of houses, in which robberies have taken place, or other suspected parties. The inference they are liable to draw from such permission is, that they may with impunity resort to improper means to procure confessions, while at the same time their superiors, and the parties robbed, press for discovery.”—P. 106, Jan.

The Darogah was imprisoned for four years, and fined 200 rupees ; the others for two years, with a fine of 100 rupees.

In another case, a police Darogah, two Burkundazes and a Peah were tried for the culpable homicide of a person whom they had in their custody. The prisoners were convicted ; the Lower Court stating the object of the mal-treatment to have been to procure restitution of the stolen property, or a confession of the crime. The Court of Appeal took a surprising view of certain parts of the case.

“ It is also clearly proved that the deceased was never out of the hands of the police, after having been put on board the boat ; and, though a weakly man, the medical evidence shews that he was not suffering from disease, and his death can therefore be accounted for in no other way than as the consequence of the combined mal-treatment he received from them. Lukhun and Nobin were evidently the most active in this outrage, and we see no reason to interfere in their favour, with the sentence passed upon them. It is likewise satisfactorily proved that Nundlol, the Darogah, was in the boat, and cognisant of what passed. Under ordinary circumstances, a heavy responsibility would fall upon one holding the official position he did, rendering necessary a far severer sentence than that passed by the Sessions Judge : but Nundlol is a mere youth, and certainly not qualified for the situation of a Darogah, and it may be fairly inferred that the authority of such a person was neither felt nor respected by his subordinates. This may be taken into consideration in the punishment.”—P. 49, Jan.

And accordingly the Darogah got four years' imprisonment without labor, while two of his subordinates were sentenced to the like term of imprisonment with labor in irons !

It is not accused or suspected persons alone that are tortured, or mal-treated by the police. Witnesses are often used in the same way, in order to make them give such evidence as the police may want. Thus we have a case* where eight prisoners were tried for perjury alleged to have been committed by them on a

previous criminal trial. The Lower Court arrived at the following conclusion :—

" Under these circumstances, I would convict the prisoners of perjury : but with reference to *their offence having originated in ill-treatment and threats of further violence on the part of the police*, I think that one year's imprisonment with labor will be a sufficient punishment. *The prisoners are all either women or old men, selected, I doubt not, in a degree on that account as being the more likely to be acted on by ill usage.*"

The Sudder Court acquitted all the prisoners :—

" The Sessions' Judge should not have ordered the commitment of the prisoners for the perjury, as he was convinced that they had been subjected to ill-treatment to cause them to depose as they did depose before the magistrate."

In about 270 of the 637 cases that came before the Sudder Court in 1855, the prisoners, or some of them, had confessed, or made statements criminating themselves before the police, or the committing magistrate. In very many of these cases, the alleged confessions are wholly repudiated on the trial before the Judge : it was either denied that they had ever been made, or it was urged that they had been extorted by ill usage, or obtained under threats or false promises. If a man repudiate his confession, it becomes, as it seems to us, perfectly useless, and his crime should be proved *aliunde*, without making him first establish, that he did not in fact confess, or that he did so in consequence of improper pressure. In nine cases out of ten of torture or improper pressure, the prisoner must, from the very nature of the thing, fail in producing legal proof of it ; for when it is practised, only the prisoner and the police themselves are present, and the prisoner will find no one to speak for him, but himself.

The police have recently, we believe, been prohibited by an order of Government, from receiving confessions. This is a move in the right direction, but it does not go sufficiently far ; for confessions before a magistrate may be received and acted on as formerly, although, as the cases in the volume now before us shew, such confessions are just as little to be trusted as those made before the police, being generally made through their agency.

The police may be ordered not to receive confessions, and may obey that order ; but that will not prevent them from extorting admissions, and from using unfair means to induce prisoners to confess to the magistrate. The mere fact of his being in the presence of, or addressing the magistrate, does not remove the unfortunate prisoner from the influence or fear of the police, and

does not cause him to forget what he has suffered, or may suffer at their hands, should he disobey their directions. Of course confessions, if they are not afterwards denied, and there is no doubt of their being *real* confessions, are properly received and acted upon. What we would urge, (and we think it must soon be made the rule in India) is, that considering the known and avowed practices of the police, all confessions denied or repudiated before final conviction, or as to the manner of obtaining which *any* suspicion exists, should be wholly rejected, before whomsoever they may have been made.

In the volume before us, we find case upon case, in which confessions said to have been made before the police, or before the magistrates, were taken as evidence by the Courts, although those who are said to have made them, afterwards repudiated them, and on their trial defended themselves to the utmost,—even to the sending the case up to the Sudder in appeal. It is to us incredible that people should, without any motive or inducement, make statements endangering their own life or liberty, merely for the sake of repudiating them as soon as made.

The confessions of dacoits are in some degree an exception, for they seem, for the most part, to be real confessions, and are comparatively rarely repudiated. These people know that they occupy a peculiar position. They know that there exists a special set of officers whose business it is to hunt them down; that if caught they will be dealt with differently from other offenders; and that they have multitudes of accomplices, any one of whom has it in his power to convict them. They know also that a pardon, more or less complete, is generally the reward of those who give valuable information. No doubt, it is the knowledge of these things, with possibly the addition of some gentle pressure on the part of their captors, that makes them speak so freely. Whatever be the cause, they certainly seem more ready than any other class of prisoners to confess, and to speak the truth when they do so.

The following extracts show pretty clearly the amount of reliance which, in the opinion of the Sudder Court, ought to be placed on their confessions,—and indeed on the police generally. They shew that the Sudder Judges are on the whole careful in the use made of confessions, though they are not quite so much so as they might be. The rule which the Court lays down, but which is by no means strictly attended to, is that to justify the conviction of a confessing prisoner, his confession must be supported by strong corroborative evidence:—

“The confessions in our opinion are not calculated to remove the impression, that the police have got up the evidence in this case,

and with nothing before us to justify reliance on any part of it, even as to the death of the woman, we must acquit all the prisoners."—*P. 18, Jan.*

"As confession itself is no evidence against the prisoner, his guilt is by no means satisfactorily established."—*P. 62, Jan.*

"We cannot upon his confessions alone, unsupported as they are by any circumstantial evidence, concur with the Sessions Judge in convicting the prisoner."—*P. 203, Feb.*

"The case has evidently been got up by the police. * * * Upon a perusal of the statement, prisoner No. 9 certified by the joint-magistrate to be a *confession* with witnesses attached to it; we find that it is a denial *in toto*: it contains a plea of *alibi*, and states that he had been intimidated by the police: it admits the prisoner heard (only) of the dacoity. Notwithstanding which, the attesting witnesses speak of it as a *confession*, voluntarily made before the magistrate; and the Sessions Judge has convicted him upon the confession, which, of course, will not stand. * * * The prisoners are acquitted, and must be immediately released. The proceedings of the police officers ought certainly to have drawn the attention of the authorities to the improbabilities they contained; and the whole Mofussil investigation should have been laid before the superintendent of police."—*P. 534, May.*

"The bare confessions of the prisoners, when *there is so much reason to believe that proof has been made up in the Mofussil*, cannot fairly be read against them."—*P. 546, May.*

"There being no proof that any murder was committed, and the confessions being unworthy of belief, we acquit the prisoner."—*P. 661, June.*

"This, with the *irregular* manner in which the other confessions were taken, throws too much doubt on the genuineness of these confessions safely to rely on them. We therefore acquit the prisoners."—*P. 675, June.*

"The whole case appears so like one that has been got up by the police, that, &c. * * lead us to regard the recorded confessions with very great suspicion, and prevent our upholding the conviction."—*P. 828 June.*

"We quite agree with the Deputy Commissioner, that there is good reason to believe the prisoner's confession in the Mofussil, *was not voluntary*; and with such an impression on our minds, we cannot allow the repetition of that confession, when brought before the assistant, to prejudice the prisoner. * * As far as this prisoner is concerned, the conduct of the Darogah appears very reprehensible.—*P. 19, July.*

"Mofussil confessions obtained under the delay and illegal detention for five days, to which the prisoners were subjected by the police, who were unable to give any explanation when called on by the magistrate, are not to be relied on. * * * Confessions thus taken, backed even by a confession before the magistrate on their arrival at the station, but unsupported by other independent circum-

stantial evidence * * are not grounds which justify conviction."—
P. 79, July.

And yet in nearly all these cases, the Lower Courts had approved of and acted on the confessions.

There are many cases in which the only evidence against the prisoners, in addition to their own confessions, was that of *approvers*. The system of approvers prevails to a considerable extent, especially in dacoity cases. It is found to be very useful in breaking up gangs of scoundrels; it destroys their confidence in each other, and makes those who are apprehended anxious to confess, and give any information they can, lest they should be fore-stalled by their comrades. The principle is a good one, but it requires to be judiciously carried out, for it is only in special cases, that a criminal should be permitted to become an approver. We sympathize with a Sessions Judge whom we find much displeased with his subordinate, because that officer, after a dacoity had been committed, offered not only a free pardon, but "*a reward of 100 rupees to any of the dacoits who would come forward and turn approver.*"* The proceeding was, as the Judge says, novel and unheard of.

In two cases, there is shewn something like a desire not to act fairly towards approvers, or, in plain English, to break faith with them, and not give them the promised pardon.

In the case of dacoity just referred to, one Kallee Mullick, who (we use the Judge's own words) "was one of the principal parties who committed the dacoity, was included in the list of witnesses, having received a conditional pardon from the magistrate :" yet the Judge afterwards sentenced this man to seven years' imprisonment with labor in irons.

"The crime of being an accomplice in the dacoity, and having in his possession two rupees, the sale proceeds of a portion of the plundered property, is proved against Kallee Mullick, *by his confessions before the police and the magistrate, and his admissions before the Court.* But although he states that he confessed before the police and the magistrate under a promise of pardon, *I do not consider that such a promise was legal or justified by the circumstances of the case:* and whether it was legal or not, the prisoner forfeited his right to his conditional pardon by concealing, &c." **

Could any thing be more unfair than this? If the Judge thought fit to set aside the magistrate's promise of pardon, on the first of the grounds stated by him, surely he should also have set aside the confessions obtained on the strength of that

* P. 506, Oct.

promise. The second ground for refusing to recognise the promise of pardon, namely, that the prisoner had not fulfilled the condition on which the pardon was to be granted, may have been a good one. The Sudder Court, however, held that there was no evidence that the approver had not done all that he undertook to do, and ordered him to be released forthwith.

In the other case to which allusion has been made, a dacoit being seized by the police was, before trial or conviction, offered a conditional pardon, if he would turn approver. He accepted the offer, and gave much information against himself and others. Having got out of him all he knew, the Lower Court put him on his trial, and on his own confessions, corroborated by the records of some previous trials, convicted him, and sentenced him to *imprisonment for life in transportation beyond sea*. The Court in a subsequent statement says, that a sentence of only imprisonment for life had been passed, and that that had been passed in the belief that the pardon extended to a dacoity approver, exempted him only from death or transportation, not from imprisonment for life, or any other punishment, (which really was the case with respect to thugs, they being considered irreclaimable, and never under any circumstance being let loose, when once arrested.) The Sudder Court observes on this : *firstly*, that the Lower Court had proposed a sentence of imprisonment for life in *transportation* : *secondly*, that the conditional pardon on account of which the prisoner made his confessions exempted him from the punishment recommended : *thirdly*, that he should have been tried, and, if convicted, sentenced in the usual manner before being pardoned with a view to turning approver, on which he would become virtually free, and be let loose on society. The proceedings against the prisoner were quashed.*

It is well, indeed, that there is an appellate Court to check errors such as these ; for it is difficult to conceive any folly, not to use a stronger term, greater than that of not keeping perfect faith with approvers. The fact is, that it is in India exceedingly difficult to convict and punish the really guilty : and officers with the very best intentions, constantly allow their zeal to carry them a great deal further than they ought to go, and than they would go if their cooler judgment did not yield to the excitement and anxiety of the moment. Their zeal is added to by the desire to gain the approbation of their superiors : and in India, the character of a judge or magistrate has always been tested by the number of his convictions,—by the quantity, not the quality, of the work done. The consequence of this is,

that while in England no man is considered guilty till he is convicted, the reverse is the rule here. On what other principle, can judges be found writing thus?—

"It remains to say, before proceeding to sentence, why these trials have been closed, *before all the witnesses for the defence have been heard*. Those of the prisoners whose witnesses have not been heard, are Gogun and Baboroollah. The defence of Gogun is that the case is false. *Now any number of witnesses who might depose to this effect, would not shake my belief* that the witnesses for the prosecution have given trustworthy evidence in a matter which occurred before their eyes: so that, giving Gogun the utmost benefit which the evidence of his witnesses would be to him, they would not be sufficient to exculpate him:—and if so, there is no use in delaying a case already postponed too long."—P. 283, Feb.

We know of nothing equal to this, but the speech of the foreman of a Scotch jury, who, being asked after the trial was over, how he could possibly have given a verdict of guilty, said,—"from the way the clerk of the Court read out the indictment 'to us, we knew the prisoner *maun* be guilty, so we took care to let nothing shake us!'"

Again :—

"The existence of such an order as that issued by the Magistrate, and the abuse it was subject to in the hands of a corrupt and unscrupulous police, *had very nearly induced me to acquit all the prisoners: but as it is so difficult to procure convictions in dacoity cases, I did not think myself altogether justified in doing so.*"

"And therefore," he might have continued, "though not very sure about their guilt, I have actually taken upon myself to sentence four or five persons to imprisonment for seven years with labor in irons."*

In treating of these matters, however, and in considering the state of the administration of criminal justice in Bengal, we must not lose sight of the extraordinary difficulties with which Courts and magistrates alike have to contend. It is almost impossible to get any good reliable evidence; and the search after truth is in general little more than a groping in the dark. In every case, civil as well as criminal, there is perjury, as a matter of course, on both sides, and commonly forgery also; for however honest and good a case he may have, no native ever trusts to that alone,—he *must* have a got up one. The greater part of the evidence produced on both sides, usually has to be disbelieved. Englishmen, too, in India, keeping entirely aloof from the natives, and never having any really familiar intercourse with

* P. 512, Oct.

them, are in no degree behind the scenes, and consequently never have an opportunity of seeing any thing more than those immediately about them choose to shew. This is so especially with those who are judges or magistrates; their position is very different from that of those who have had to work their own way on something like a footing of equality with natives, and is such as effectually to prevent their knowing much of what is really going on underneath the surface which is presented to them. That they should be often misled, and at fault, is not to be wondered at.

The following extract shews us something of life (though not perhaps of every-day life) in the mofussil, and how a magistrate is occasionally called upon to execute his own process. Several fruitless attempts had been made to arrest Mohun Meah. He was the individual known as Magog, and the brother of Gugun, who has been mentioned before, and after the conviction of the latter "had turned Gugun's house into a miniature Sebas-
topol, and there with a band of *latteals*, armed with spears
and shields, set the law and police at defiance." On the 16th
of November, 1854, the magistrate entrusted to a darogah a
warrant for the apprehension of Mohun. The darogah was
directed to go on ahead with his men, sixteen or eighteen in
number, and to attempt to serve the process. The Magistrate,
two Messrs. Morrell, (gentlemen, resident in the neighbourhood,
who had been requested to assist), some chuprassies, and five
burkundazes followed the darogah at some distance:—

"The magistrate and the Messrs. Morrell were armed with guns: each gentleman had a spare gun: one of the Messrs. Morrell had a third gun. The party walked some two miles, when they reached a *khal*: up to this time no resistance had been offered: crossing the *khal*, they advanced up an avenue leading to the house in which were the Meah and his followers. This avenue is described to be from 400 to 500 yards long, and the road as from twelve to thirteen feet broad, lined on both sides by cocoanut trees, and with a deep ditch running on each side. The party proceeded some little distance, when they observed a party of some 100 to 150 men armed with spears, and their bodies protected and almost wholly concealed by shields, advancing in a stooping position, and in ranks four abreast. The magistrate and the police called out to their party to retreat; it was also clearly explained to them, that the magistrate had come in person to apprehend Mohun Meah. This had no effect; the attacking party still advanced. The magistrate then directed his party to retreat, keeping a bold face towards the attacking party. The magistrate's party retreated a few paces,—the attacking party advanced. The magistrate and the Messrs. Morrell fired their double barrelled guns, which were loaded with shot, at the spearmen immediately before them. Several men rolled over to the ground;

they were for the most part hit about the legs, for they managed to get up again and limp off. This first volley did not stop the advance of the attacking party, though it may have for a moment arrested it. The magistrate and the Messrs. Morrell were then in self-defence compelled to make use of their spare guns, which were loaded with ball. The three gentlemen fired almost simultaneously, and several men of the attacking party were killed. * * * Three, perhaps four, men must have lost their lives. After this second discharge, the whole body of spearmen retreated to the house of Mohun Meah. The magistrate, anxious to avoid further bloodshed, and doubtless feeling that the force at his disposal was quite inadequate to the capture of Mohun Meah and his followers, retreated with his party and gained their boats. The magistrate returned to the station and forwarded an application for troops, which application was not complied with. On the 22nd of December, Mohun Meah made his appearance in the Court of the Sessions Judge, and delivered himself up. The remaining prisoners were apprehended and sent in by the police."—P. 692, Oct.

Mohun was sentenced to sixteen years' imprisonment with labor in irons in banishment.

To the lovers of the purely horrible, we commend this volume with entire confidence. It contains an account of a series of murders, assaults, and robberies, each one more atrocious in its details than the other: and it is on the whole quite in a position in this respect to compete with the Newgate Calendar. We need not now to resort to this, or to any other book, to learn that when once they are fully excited and roused, there is no possible limit to the savageness or barbarity of the wanton cruelties of which natives are capable, or the tortures which they will inflict on their fellow creatures, if they think they have them fully in their power.

Such is the volume of cases decided in 1855, extending over 1850 closely printed pages. It is well printed, and on good paper. But on the whole, the reports, *as reports*, are badly got up:—they have neither index nor marginal notes worthy of the name, for what there are, either are incorrect, or contain little or no information: and the text itself sets forth in full the statements of the Lower Courts with all their faults, instead of recording only the facts which are strictly material. In their present shape, they are much more useful as forming a check upon the Courts, and giving some insight into the condition of the country generally, than as books of criminal law. Perhaps, however, for the present, they are best as they are.

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